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THE JERUSALEM POST

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INSIDE

Beware poisonous house plants
Page Three

Gaddafi invites Reagan to visit his tent
Page Four

Egyptian policeman killed self, coroner says

CAIRO (AP). — The government's coroner yesterday ruled out any criminal suspicion in the death of the Egyptian policeman who killed seven Israelis at Ras Burka, saying tests have proved that Sgt. Suleiman Khater hanged himself.

Ibrahim Mohammed Selem, senior coroner for the Justice Ministry, made his comments to the Middle East News Agency.

"The tests performed on the samples of the deceased's stomach and intestines and food [he ate that day] show they did not include any poison, tranquilizers or drugs," Selem said.

"Tests on the substance underneath his fingernails include no blood or human cells," he said, in an apparent reference to charges by opposition parties here and abroad that Khater was murdered.

"The autopsy has shown that the cause of death was suffocation from hanging," the coroner said.

Khater was found dead, hanging from the rails of his prison hospital room last Tuesday. The government said the preliminary autopsy showed he had killed himself, but the news triggered university demonstrations and riots in his tiny Nile Delta hometown.

Mena yesterday quoted Interior Minister Ahmed Rushdy as accusing Communists, Moslem fundamentalists and an opposition party of instigating the demonstrations.

Rushdy said authorities had detained 47 students from universities in Egypt after they insisted on demonstrating outside their campuses.

Europe braces for further terror strikes

THE HAGUE (AP). — The Abu Nidal terrorist alert in the Netherlands was expanded yesterday to include U.S. diplomatic and commercial offices as well as Jewish and Israeli institutions, the Dutch Justice Ministry disclosed.

A high alert in the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries began late last week, with Interpol warnings of a possible strike against Jewish or Israeli targets by terrorists under the direction of the Abu Nidal faction and believed loose in the region.

No terrorist-related incidents or arrests were reported in any of the northern nations over the weekend. Scandinavian authorities yesterday said their original alert continued, but had not been expanded to include possible American targets.

Dutch authorities warned privately yesterday that the expanded alert made guarding potential American targets, as well as Israeli and Jewish ones, "practically impossible."

"There had been talk for a few days that American targets could be endangered," said the Dutch Justice Ministry spokeswoman.

"But this morning it became more conclusive. There is an extension of the targets," she said.

The original alert was based on a tip from an unspecified western European intelligence service that had been following an anti-Israeli terrorist group in western Europe but had lost its trail, according to Saturday's *De Volkskrant*, an Amsterdam daily.

It came less than two weeks before a scheduled two-day visit to the Netherlands by Israeli Prime Minister Peres. Heavy security measures have been introduced for the visit, and the Israeli Embassy here said the visit will go on as scheduled.

About 10 Jewish or Israeli sites in Amsterdam were under police guard during the weekend, one of them being the Anne Frank house, one of the nation's major tourist attractions. (See Craxi on terror, page 4)

EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
WEEKLY REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY



An IDF soldier gazes across the disputed Taba border yesterday.

(AFP telephoto)

Histadrut lends backing to striking TV workers

By ROY ISACOWITZ and GREER FAY CASHMAN

TEL AVIV. — Trade unionists involved in the television strike yesterday dug in for a protracted struggle, with technicians' union secretary Zalman Shekman warning that radio broadcasts could also be affected if the dispute does not end soon.

The Histadrut Central Committee yesterday gave its backing to the wild cat strike of the TV technicians. The committee called on the Israel Broadcasting Authority management to negotiate an end to the dispute within the framework of the existing labor agreements.

The cabinet took a wait-and-see attitude to the TV strike yesterday and decided not to discuss it for the time being in the hope that the fuss would blow over.

Finance Minister Moda'i mentioned the matter first, asking that the cabinet strongly support the IBA management in its firm stand against the technicians even if the screen stays dark for a long period.

Education Minister Navon said the management was fully justified in suspending the technician responsible for blacking out a portion of the *Mabat* newscast last week.

The blackout occurred because the technicians objected to the showing of some newscast shot by a private concern.

The TV technicians who declared a work stoppage on Friday in response to the suspension of their union chairman Hezi Koka were adamant yesterday that they would continue to black out the screen until Koka is back on the job.

IBA chairman Micha Yinon has appealed to strikers to call off their work stoppage and start with a clean slate, but the response had been, "not without Koka."

Histadrut Trade Union Department chairman Haim Haberfeld condoned the strike and accused the IBA of attempting to "neutralize" the works committees. He disclosed that the union and the IBA management had spent the past four years fruitlessly negotiating over new work conditions which, he said, put the workers at a disadvantage.

Low-level talks between management and the unions were held in Jerusalem last night. The Technicians Union told *The Jerusalem Post* that management was avoiding discussing the issue seriously, and accused it of "provoking a crisis to get rid of the unions in this country."

Rain-slick roads claim two lives

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Two people were killed yesterday, and 35 injured, two of them seriously, in seven accidents on roads made slippery by heavy rains that fell throughout the country.

A 19-year-old woman soldier and a 25-year-old Kiryat Malachi man were killed yesterday morning in Tel Aviv when the car they were in was sliced in two on Rehov Herbert Samuel, near the Dolphinarium. Four others were injured in the accident, two of them seriously.

The accident occurred when their car, travelling south towards Jaffa, swerved from its lane, crossed over the dividing strip, skidded off a car coming in the opposite direction, and slammed into a third car. The car was cut in half by the impact.

In the Jerusalem area yesterday, 16 people were injured in four separate accidents. On the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway, three people were injured when their car, travelling towards Jerusalem, skidded off a road near the Ein Hezeel interchange and crashed into a rock.

On Rehov Herzog near the Givat Mordechai junction, five people were injured when a bus swerved from its path and collided with three cars. In another accident involving a bus, seven people were hurt when a bus crashed into the back of a pick-up truck on the access road to Beit Shemesh.

Eleven children from Moshava Kinneret were injured in an accident that occurred yesterday morning outside the entrance to the moshava.

In Bat Yam, four people were injured when the driver of an intensive-care ambulance, which was travelling at high speed, lost control and struck three people waiting at a bus stop. A paramedic travelling in the ambulance was also hurt.

According to Margalit Reichman, duty forecaster at the Beit Dagon weather forecasting centre, the wettest spot in the country yesterday was in the southern coastal area from Kibbutz Palmachim to Gaza, where 34 millimetres were recorded (figures are for the 12 hours preceding noon). Twenty-five millimetres were measured in Jerusalem, 15 in Tel Aviv, 14 near the Kinneret, and 11 in Haifa.

Partly cloudy skies are forecast for today, with rain returning tomorrow and tapering off before Wednesday. Yet another storm is due on Thursday, with the precipitation expected to start in the north.

Discussion continues past midnight

Inner cabinet locked in debate on Taba issue

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The fate of the national unity government hung in the balance late last night as the inner cabinet was locked in session over the proposals for a package deal with Egypt. As expected, the Likud ministers declined to immediately support the package put together by the directors-general of the Prime Minister's Office and the Foreign Ministry and submitted counter-proposals of their own. The meeting convened shortly after 6 p.m.

The major stumbling block at last night's inner cabinet meeting was the Likud's demand that the package deal with Egypt include a distinct and separate stage of conciliation, explicitly stated. It is understood that much of last night's meeting revolved around this demand and that, in the end, Prime Minister Shimon Peres flatly rejected it. Peres said: "If the heading does not say 'Arbitration for Taba,' then there is nothing to talk about" with Egypt.

According to sources in the Prime Minister's Office, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was very "positive," implying that Shamir was willing to yield on the demand for conciliation. Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon was said to have been very "negative."

Peres said that the original set of

package deal proposals already contained linkage between Israeli agreement to arbitration, Egyptian implementation of normalization agreements, and the start of the arbitration process, and that therefore the Likud's demand for such linkage was superfluous. Peres said that the Likud's insistence on an Egyptian commitment not to assist the PLO was similarly superfluous, as it was already covered in the 1979 peace treaty with Egypt.

The two sides, after midnight, were busy going over each word of the proposal and trying to hammer out formulas which, in the prime minister's view, would also be acceptable to Egypt. Sources at the Prime Minister's Office expected the session to last long into the night and said that Peres was bent on reaching an agreement at the meeting.

The 10 ministers were believed to be trying to find formulas which could bridge the gap between the two sets of proposals and still leave the original package, as put forward by Prime Minister Peres, sufficiently intact to allow Israel to submit it to Egypt as the basis for a bilateral agreement. Peres remained adamant earlier yesterday that the package in its original form, perhaps with a few minor modifications, must be approved by the inner cabinet at the meeting.

Peres was expected to argue that rejection of the offered package deal

at this stage would do irreparable harm to Israeli-Egyptian relations and that he could not preside over a government that sanctioned this.

The Likud ministers, seeking some gain out of their protracted brinkmanship, were expected to try to obtain changes in the proposals (or some binding cabinet commitments paralleling them), which could be offered as proof of accomplishment to party stalwarts.

Peres was expected to be pressed by Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman to hold fast to the original terms of the proposals, arguing that any change would be unacceptable to Egypt, and that it would be better to dissolve the national unity government than to allow a Likud-engineered impasse to block an improvement of relations with Egypt.

One possible solution to the impasse, according to knowledgeable observers, was that the Likud would agree to the original Peres package deal proposals, perhaps with some minor modifications, in exchange for Alignment agreement that some of the Likud demands would be embodied in the inner cabinet resolution alongside the package deal draft which is to be submitted to Egypt. This way, the package deal would remain intact, and conform to the agreements and understandings reached over the past three months.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Likud ministers propose alternative formula

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — The Likud ministers entered last night's crucial cabinet session with an alternative proposal which would link Israel's agreement to arbitration on Taba to fulfillment of what the Likud calls Egyptian obligations.

These include undertakings to normalize relations with Israel, to renounce aid to the PLO or any other Palestinian terror organization, to deliver a full report on the Ras Burka murders, and to show readiness to compensate the victims' families.

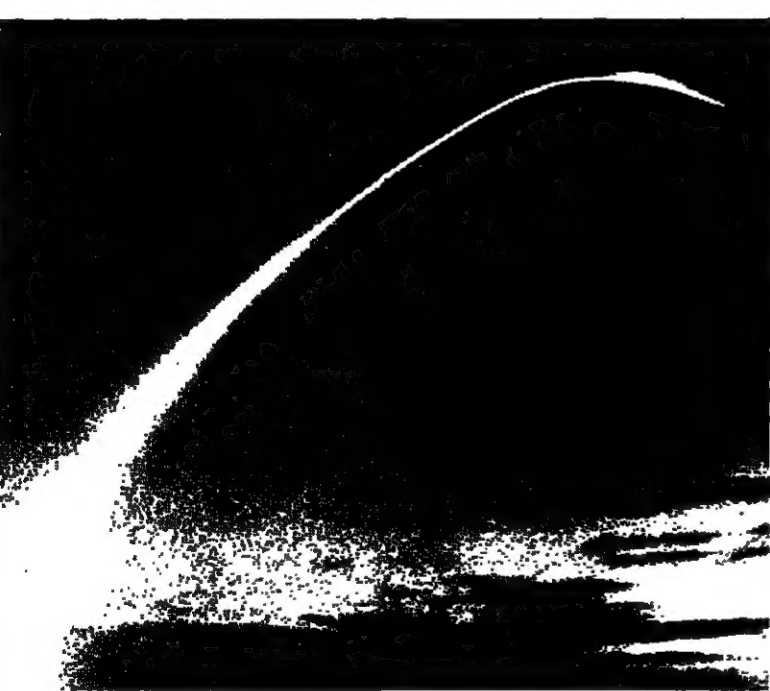
The Likud ministers say they achieved a united stand on their position paper, which had been worded by Justice Minister Moshe Nissim. They vowed prior to the cabinet session to vote unanimously on the Taba issue.

The position worked out by the Likud ministers meant that there would be no argument in the cabinet on arbitration as such, but rather about the conditions for Israel's agreement to arbitration. Some of the points raised by the Likud are also included in Prime Minister Peres' proposal, though there the wording is far softer and more implicit. The sides, however, were not

considered too far apart in their stands. Thus the main argument would be about the tone and phrasing of the conditions that Israel would set.

The Likud ministers' session was preceded by contact throughout the day between Peres and Vice Premier Shamir and their aides.

The power struggle within Herut did not feature in the Likud ministers' deliberations yesterday. Shamir did not find himself facing opposition from Deputy Premier David Levy or Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, as had been predicted by some political observers.



A time-exposure shows the path of the space shuttle Columbia during its pre-dawn launch yesterday at the Kennedy Space Centre, Florida. (See story Page 4)

(AFP telephoto)

Following sanctions against Libya for support to terror

No plans for U.S. action on Syria

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Secretary of State George Shultz yesterday made it clear that the U.S. had no immediate plans to impose economic and diplomatic sanctions against Syria because of its alleged involvement in supporting international terrorism.

The secretary, appearing on the CBS News programme *Face the Nation*, differentiated between Syrian and Libyan support for terrorism, especially the recent Rome and Vienna airport attacks.

He said the U.S. had "no doubt" that Libya was involved. But he was considerably more cautious in discussing any Syrian role.

He left open the possibility of imposing sanctions against Syria, but only if stronger evidence is found implicating the Syrians.

In any case, Shultz added, the U.S. has recently been "working with the Syrians on a number of matters." He did not elaborate, but was thought to be referring to the overall Arab-Israeli peace process and the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

Shultz and other administration spokesmen, including Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Attorney General Ed Meese, strongly defended the administration's decision to try to isolate Libya. They pointedly insisted that the U.S. was holding open other options, including a military response, if the Libyans continue to promote such terrorist activities.

But they made it clear that President Reagan, for the time being, has decided against any military action against Libya.

Shultz and Weinberger also expressed hope that America's West European allies would support the

economic and diplomatic sanctions against Libya more forcefully.

Libya's Foreign Minister Abdessalam Treiki yesterday predicted that the most recent economic measures taken by the U.S. against Libya would prove counterproductive. He said other Arab states, fearing a freezing of their funds in American banks in the event of another Middle East war, would start to withdraw their huge sums of money in the immediate period ahead.

Weinberger, appearing on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley*, flatly denied a Kuwaiti news report that an American fighter plane had been shot down by Libyan anti-aircraft missiles earlier last week. "Nonsense," he said, "there is absolutely nothing to that."

The defence secretary said the plane had been lost in air maneuvers in bad weather near the coast of France.

Reagan's former Middle East specialist on the National Security Council, Geoffrey Kemp, wrote yesterday in *The Washington Post* that the U.S. "must plan to use more deadly methods to disrupt and destroy terrorist networks."

Kemp, currently associated with the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, said: "What we have seen so far from Gaddafi and his cohorts is only the tip of the iceberg."

"There is a strong likelihood that we will one day have to deal with a 'catastrophic' act of terrorism — involving nuclear weapons, biological weapons or radioactive materials. If this happens in western Europe, governments there may at last be motivated to put aside their economic interests and join in concerted action. In the meantime, the priority in dealing with Gaddafi will be the irreducible need for intelligence and security."

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	12.1.86	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	3	17	8	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	3	17	8	Cloudy
BURNOVAIR	3	17	8	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	2	16	7	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	2	16	7	Cloudy
GENEVA	2	16	7	Cloudy
HELSINKI	2	16	7	Cloudy
HONG KONG	15	18	24	Clear
JERUSALEM	17	20	26	Clear
LONDON	5	15	8	Cloudy
MADRID	1	10	6	Cloudy
MONTREAL	14	7	26	Clear
NEW YORK	2	16	7	Cloudy
OSLO	7	18	10	Cloudy
PARIS	4	18	9	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	21	18	26	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	28	22	32	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	9	12	15	Cloudy
TOKYO	1	10	6	Cloudy
TORONTO	2	16	7	Cloudy
VIENNA	8	18	9	Cloudy
ZURICH	3	17	8	Cloudy

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THE WEATHER

	Forecast	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	Cloudy to partly cloudy, light rain showers.	Humidity 98, Min-Max 10-10	Humidity 98, Min-Max 10-10
Golan		Humidity 97, Min-Max 4-8	Humidity 97, Min-Max 4-8
Safed		Humidity 71, Min-Max 12-18	Humidity 71, Min-Max 12-18
Haifa Port		Humidity 72, Min-Max 12-17	Humidity 72, Min-Max 12-17
Tiberias		Humidity 45, Min-Max 8-12	Humidity 45, Min-Max 8-12
Nazareth		Humidity 42, Min-Max 6-12	Humidity 42, Min-Max 6-12
Afula		Humidity 84, Min-Max 10-17	Humidity 84, Min-Max 10-17
Shomron		Humidity 91, Min-Max 10-17	Humidity 91, Min-Max 10-17
B-G Airport		Humidity 93, Min-Max 10-15	Humidity 93, Min-Max 10-15
Joricho		Humidity 74, Min-Max 12-19	Humidity 74, Min-Max 12-19
Gaza		Humidity 61, Min-Max 5-16	Humidity 61, Min-Max 5-16
Beersheba		Humidity 39, Min-Max 8-18	Humidity 39, Min-Max 8-18
Eilat			

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering and Acting U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem Douglas Keene were guests at a reception held last night at the Maierdoff Faculty Club of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for participants in a seminar on U.S. Middle East policy sponsored by the University's Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations and the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy.

ARRIVALS

Emmah Warden of America Honorary President Dorothy Bernstein and Rabbi Abraham Bernstein. Mrs. Jane Moorman, British-Israel Public Affairs Committee, from London, for consultations prior to Prime Minister Pines' visit to London.

Joint Chiefs head to visit

The IDF spokesman announced yesterday that the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, will visit Israel January 16-18 as guest of the defense establishment.

Shiff vows to sell only to a Jew

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Haim Shiff, the controversial hotel mogul, said yesterday that even if he is offered 10 times the value of his holdings (currently estimated at \$250 million), he will not sell to a non-Jewish purchaser.

"If I sell any of my properties," he told *The Jerusalem Post*, "it will be only to Jews."

Asked about a report in yesterday's *Post* that one of Israel's largest hotel chains is to be auctioned off by the newly established Israel Auction Mart, Shiff conceded that "everything I have is up for sale." But he would not specify whether the items, individually or in a package would be put under the hammer or listed on the sale market.

Mounting debts and declining income have reportedly combined to limit Shiff's fluid assets. He has been unable to finance the completion of the Jerusalem Gardens Hotel on Herzl Boulevard's hotel strip, and he has failed to raise capital to meet approximately \$30 million in bank debts.

However, the shortage of ready cash, according to Shiff, is not the main reason why he wants to sell. He blames the "cold water attitude of government ministers to entrepreneurial initiative."

London-style real estate auctioneering in Israel

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Israeli business is about to be hit by high-powered London-style real estate auctioneering.

Tonight the Israel Auction Mart is being launched at the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel. Here for the occasion is one of Britain's top property auctioneers, John Barnett, who has been in the business for over half of his 46 years. He is to return on April 2 to conduct an auction in which the first item may be the eight lots of the Haim Shiff hotel chain.

Barnett told *The Jerusalem Post* that a number of foreign businessmen are expected to fly in for the occasion to compete in bidding with local people.

The Australian Ambassador and Mrs. Helen Merrilees wish to thank all those who kindly sent them the Season's Greetings and to reciprocate their good wishes for 1986. They have also to announce that due to budgetary restrictions there will be no Embassy function on Australia Day this month.

HOME NEWS

Money for Darwish's trip to U.S. came from private fund, Kollek says

By ABRAHAM RABINOWICH and BARBARA AMOUYAL
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Mayor Teddy Kollek declared yesterday that the \$2,000 he provided a senior municipal employee towards a trip to the U.S. came from a private fund unconnected to the Jerusalem Foundation.

Kollek termed as absurd the allegations that he had dispensed foundation money to Mordechai Darwish, head of the City Beautification Department.

"From time to time I personally receive from friends sums of money with which to help people in need and to award outstanding employees," the mayor said in a statement issued by his office.

"This money is given by friends from all over the world who trust me and permit me to use it according to my personal judgment within the framework of my public duties. There is no connection between these sums and the money contributed to the Jerusalem Foundation."

Kollek is to meet today with Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev. Attorney-

General Yitzhak Zamir and Police Inspector-General David Kraus to complain about what he called "the unjustified publication of half-truths and the smearing of the Jerusalem Foundation."

An aide said the discretionary funds Kollek referred to amounted to between \$10,000 and \$20,000 a year. He said an accounting was provided to the donors and that, unlike donations to the foundation, these funds were not exempt from tax.

The Jerusalem Foundation established by Kollek in 1965 has brought close to \$130 million to the city in gifts. Kollek noted that these gifts are not discretionary but slated for specific projects and are administered by a public body.

The mayor's aide categorically denied allegations that Kollek had provided money from these gifts for Darwish's legal defence in the police fraud squad's investigation of his activities. "Absolute nonsense," he said.

Sources in the fraud squad said yesterday: "We don't see any justifi-

cation for a full-scale investigation into Kollek's role in the Darwish case, and we definitely do not foresee charges being brought against him."

Allegations that Kollek gave Darwish \$2,000 from the foundation were made public on Friday in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court. Other suspicions aired in court were that Kollek paid for Darwish's defence out of municipal funds.

Kollek was requested by police to relay information about his trusted employee of 32 years shortly after Darwish's arrest on October 28, 1985. Darwish, who was responsible for the municipality employees' pension fund, has been charged with fraudulent funding of trips abroad, skimming from the city's pension fund, and granting lucrative contracting jobs, without public tender, to relatives and friends.

Darwish was released on \$530 million bail on November 1, 1985, on condition that he not speak with anyone at the municipality, including his former boss, and that he stay out of Jerusalem.

Police probe likely to show Moslems were provoked

By ASHER WALLFISH and BARBARA AMOUYAL
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The police probe into last Tuesday's Temple Mount clash will apparently show that the Moslems were provoked by the behaviour as well as the presence of the visiting Knesset Interior Committee members and their entourage.

Police Inspector-General David Kraus is due to get the report tomorrow.

Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev told the cabinet yesterday that the incident began when a Wakf (Moslem charitable trust) guard said the visitors could not enter a section of Solomon's Stables, under the Temple Mount courtyard, carrying cameras.

But one person entered, apparently with a camera, and the Moslem builders working in the section rushed out, pushing the MKs back, and started the fracas, Bar-Lev said.

He said committee chairman Dov Shilansky (Herut) applied directly to the Jerusalem police district, rather than—as is customary—to the police minister, for a permit to visit the Temple Mount on a committee tour. Shilansky also asked for a police escort.

Bar-Lev reported that Shilansky said nothing about non-committee members making the visit, such as the two Tebiya MKs Yuval Ne'eman and Geula Cohen. Temple Mount activists Avi Farhan and Gershon Solomon, and photographers.

He said that the police asked Shilansky specifically to bring only Knesset Members, and the first time the police knew about outsiders was

when the group reached the Mount.

Bar-Lev said that, although it was Shilansky who had insisted on a police inquiry, as a condition for postponing the second Temple Mount tour that same afternoon, Shilansky then said a police probe was unacceptable and an inquiry should be held instead by the state attorney.

Bar-Lev spoke after Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg asked him several questions. (In the last government Burg was responsible for the police, in his capacity as interior minister.)

Burg asked how it happened that "two notorious and instantly identifiable persons like Farhan and Solomon" took part in an official visit by a Knesset committee.

He asked whether the visit took place during the Moslem prayer hour, and what exactly the muzzel—a who summoned the faithful to prayer from the minaret—said that aroused the crowd.

Yitzhak Zamir to rule on whether the Wakf, as the responsible body managing the Temple Mount, had the authority to prohibit cameras there unless prior permission was granted.

Yesterday's inclement weather caused the cancellation of a planned visit to the Temple Mount by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel.

Kollek notified Shilansky that he saw no need for the Knesset committee's visit and would not take part in it.

"Demonstration-like activities won't strengthen Israel's sovereignty over Jerusalem," he said, adding that the visit can only damage Israel.

\$4m. Haifa anti-pollution unit opens

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A \$4 million anti-pollution unit began operating at the Haifa Oil Refineries this week, amid complaints from the regional environmental protection authority about the continuing high level of sulphur dioxide emissions from the complex.

The refineries spokesman said the new computerized unit together with other measures would reduce sulphur dioxide emissions by over 22 per cent.

The unit recovers gases, emitted in the crude oil cracking process,

back into liquid sulphur. The resulting product is then sold to the nearby Haifa Fertilizers and Chemical factory which would otherwise have to import it.

The spokesman said the plant will produce 12,000 tons of liquid sulphur a year.

Work on a second unit of this kind, costing \$9 million, started this month and is to be completed within two years.

Refineries general manager Zvi Zamir said the firm will spend \$15m. on anti-pollution measures in the next two years on top of the \$7m. already invested.

Prominent lawyer acquitted of perjury

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Attorney Hagai Sitton was acquitted yesterday in the Jerusalem District Court of charges of perjury.

Sitton, a former chairman of the Israel Chamber of Advocates' Ethics Committee, was charged over a year ago with perjury in regard to an arbitration case in which he represented one of three partners in a commercial garage. One of the partners became a state's witness in proceedings that ensued from the

arbitration, and charged Sitton with giving false testimony in the case.

Sitton's defence attorney Dan Avi-Isaac told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that District Court Judge Dalia Dorner had "thoroughly discredited the state's witness and fully exonerated Mr. Sitton." He added that the judgment implied criticism of the original judge—Eliezer Goldberg, now a justice of the Supreme Court—who had accepted the charges of the state's witness.

Jordan okays bank plan for territories

Jerusalem Post Staff

Jordan has given its approval to a few West Bank families to negotiate with Israel over the establishment of an Arab bank in the administered territories, Shmuel Goren, the coordinator of government activities in the territories, revealed yesterday.

Goren, speaking to reporters in Tel Aviv, said that the success of the negotiations over the establishment of the bank—a project conceived under the policy to ease financial restrictions in the territories—now depends on Jordan.

Goren mentioned the talks on the bank within the context of what he termed the "improvements in the quality of life" in the territories.

Since the virtual lifting of restrictions on the introduction of funds from the Arab states over the bridges with Jordan, more than \$1 million a day is being brought in. "We are encouraging the municipalities, the universities and other organizations to bring in funds," said Goren.

Goren pointed out that negotiations are under way to expand the telephone network in the West Bank. Restrictions on direct dialling and telex communications have been almost eliminated, he added, so that "contact can be made from the territories with anywhere in the world."

Some \$3m. has been invested to provide electricity to Nablus, some two-thirds of which is sold by the Israel Electric Corporation. Some 30 villages in the surrounding area have asked to be linked up with the supply, Goren said.

Goren argued that finance constitutes a major problem in the territories. Funds, he said, are required to solve the drinking-water shortage in the Gaza Strip, to build permanent housing for people still residing in refugee camps, to build more classrooms, and to increase the number of jobs.

But Goren noted that, alongside the "improvement in the quality of life," the past year has also seen an increase in terrorist attacks.

Most of the terrorist activity was attributable to people acting on their own, and not in coordination with the terrorist organizations, he said.

Though the security authorities have failed to eliminate terror in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Goren said, they have succeeded in stopping the smuggling of weapons over the bridges from Jordan. "The terrorists have been forced to use Israeli weapons and knives," observed Goren.

Following an increase in the use of home-made bombs, pharmacists in the Gaza Strip were recently assembled by security authorities and warned to be careful about selling materials that could be used to make explosives.

Goren said that, following the reintroduction of such measures as administrative arrest (96 persons are now being held) and expulsions (four persons have been expelled so far), there have been far fewer disturbances.



Druse leaders and villagers, IDF officers and police attend the funeral of Sergeant-Major Jamil Fares in the village of Rama yesterday.

Nablus shooting victim Fares buried in Galilee

RAMA (Itim). — Sergeant-Major Jamil Fares, the Border Policeman killed Saturday while shopping in Nablus, was laid to rest yesterday in this Galilee village's cemetery.

Thousands of Druse from the Galilee and Carmel joined in the funeral procession. Among those following Fares' coffin were Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev, the police inspector-general, the commander of the Border Police, MKs and heads of local councils from the area.

In his eulogy, Bar-Lev declared that the IDF and the other security forces would do everything in their power to bring the murderer or murderers to justice. Fares belonged to a family that had served, and

continues to serve, the country in several branches of the defence system, the minister said.

In Nablus, the security forces have continued their search for the terrorist, arresting and interrogating scores of residents. The curfew in the city centre and casba remained in force yesterday, but was lifted for two hours in the afternoon to allow residents to shop for food. Large numbers of IDF and Border Police troops conducted searches throughout the city.

Security sources believe the murder was carried out by a lone terrorist armed with an automatic rifle.

The sources said that several terrorist cells operate in Samaria, and

are responsible for the recent throwing of petrol bombs at Israeli buses and IDF patrols in the area.

Two terror groups have claimed responsibility for Saturday's attack. In Damascus, George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine issued a communiqué stating that a "PFLP unit based in occupied territories staged the Nablus operation that resulted in the killing and wounding of a number of Israeli troops," while in Beirut Abu Musa's Fatah Uprising Movement claimed responsibility for the attack in a phone call to the newspaper *an Nahar*.

No details were given of the attack in either claim.

INNER CABINET

The counter-proposals called for an initial eight-month period of consultation as a means of solving the Tabá border dispute before arbitration begins (should conciliation fail); a *compromis* sufficiently wide to enable Israel to present all its evidence to conciliators or arbitrators regarding the Israeli claim to Tabá; a signed agreement with Egypt, before the *compromis* is signed, setting out the right of access and ownership to Tabá and its facilities for the loser in the arbitration, based on the status quo; the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv; receipt of the report on the Ras Burka killings and agreement about payment of compensation to the families of the victims before the signing of the *compromis*; and agreement on a

timetable for the implementation of various Israeli-Egyptian normalization agreements before the implementation of the conciliation/arbitration agreement.

The Likud counter-proposals also called for an Egyptian commitment to cease hostile propaganda against Israel and to refrain from supporting the PLO. In the preamble to the *compromis*, according to the Likud counter-proposals, Israel and Egypt would reaffirm their commitment to the Camp David agreements.

The actual process of arbitration would be contingent on the implementation by Egypt of the various normalization agreements and commitments defined hitherto, according to the Likud counter-proposals. If they are not implemented, the arbitration process would be halted.

Kessar urges PM to hold talks on rise in jobless rate

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar sent a telegram to Prime Minister Shimon Peres yesterday requesting that the trilateral Economic Council be convened immediately to discuss the country's deteriorating employment situation. The council could meet towards the end of this week, Histadrut sources said last night.

Kessar intends to have the council overruling last week's decision by the Ministerial Economic Committee to appoint a receiver for the struggling Israel Shipyards. The Histadrut Central Committee yesterday declared strong support for workers at the shipyards in their struggle against dismissal.

Addressing the committee, Kessar said that he supported the dissolution of the government as it was unable to guarantee employment for all workers.

David Rudge adds: "Mayor Arye Gurel yesterday called on the government not to close the shipyards since doing so would worsen the already intolerable unemployment situation in Haifa, where 7,000 are jobless."

Four ministers to decide on cuts in industrial fuel prices

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Most cabinet ministers said yesterday that they favour a cut in the price of fuel for industry and for electricity production.

Because of objections from Finance Minister Mod'at, however, the proposal was referred to a committee of four ministers who were asked to make recommendations within the next few days, on the timing and size of the cut.

Energy Minister Shahal said the fall in world oil prices justifies a cut in local prices. He also said oil dealers cannot board fuel, as might be the case with other commodities.

Industry Minister Sharon said that manufacturers and especially exporters should be allowed to benefit

from the fall in world prices so that they can keep prices down on their finished goods, thus fighting inflation. He called for a 5 per cent cut.

Defence Minister Rabin said the price paid by the air force for aviation fuel should be cut 10 per cent, a step which would enable more flying hours for trainee pilots. The planes use kerosene, a product whose price Shahal had not so far proposed reducing.

Mod'at contends that, since the price of fuel will have to go up after April with the expected rise in the cost-of-living index, there is no point in lowering it for a few weeks.

The four-man committee comprises Mod'at, Shahal, Sharon and Economics Minister Ya'acobi.

The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities mourns the untimely death of its member

Prof. JOSEPH BEN-DAVID

and extends its condolences to the bereaved family.

With great sorrow we announce the death of my dear wife, our mother and grandmother

FRUMA KARKLIN

née Baron

The funeral will take place at 3 p.m. today, Monday, January 13, 1986 at the Ramat Hasharon cemetery. Leaving from the residence of the deceased, 17 Simtat Hadar, Ramat Hasharon at 2.45 p.m.

The Bereaved:

Husband: Mordechai Karklin
Daughters: Rita Karklin
Hana and Simcha Shenger
Grandchildren: Nadya, Oren, Yuval and Meirav

To

RIVKA KARKLIN

We share your deep grief at the death of your

Mother

Peltours Travel and Tourism Management and Staff

We announce with grief the passing of

ILSE ELSTEIN

née Rosenbaum
of West Hartford
January 9, 1986

Her son: Allen Elstein, Boston, U.S.A.
Her brother: Gad Alon, Adv. and family, Jerusalem

Cabinet submits Nissim proposal to committee Suspects' names bill passes hurdle

By BENNY MORRIS

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
The cabinet yesterday approved the submission of Justice Minister Moshe Nissim's proposed bill on naming the publication of suspects' names to the cabinet legislation committee, after rejecting a proposal by Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Peres, arguing that legislation was needed but not necessarily along the lines of Nissim's proposal, suggested that two more liberal proposals — by Energy Minister Moshe Shahal and Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein — go to the committee for discussion. Peres said the newspapers should also be consulted. But Peres's proposal was turned down and Nissim's proposed draft was approved for submission by 14 votes to eight.

A third proposal, by Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur, opposing any legislation on the subject, received only three votes: Tsur, Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi and Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman.

Tsur argued that some corruption cases in the past could not have been opened without press investigation; that there was something wrong about the cabinet dealing with the matter only after several politicians had been bemoaned in the press; and that under such a law, suspects' names would eventually be published — except for those of MKs,

who enjoyed parliamentary immunity and would never face charges.

Nissim's bill will allow publication of names only after suspects have been in custody for 30 days, or after charges have been filed.

Ya'acobi quoted Justice Meir Shamgar's opposition to such a law. Ya'acobi argued for a voluntary press-government agreement curtailing the press on such issues as naming suspects.

Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i said the debate "makes my blood boil." He said that only in unenlightened countries are suspects' names allowed to be published.

Moda'i said that for four years "blood was spilled" (his own and others as the press indulged in "character assassination"), and argued that Nissim's proposal was not strict enough. More severe sanctions are necessary, he said. He suggested that witnesses' names also should not be published.

Moda'i charged that the Israeli media were "deteriorating" and said that "all" the newspapers now publish pictures of nudes.

Minister-without-portfolio Yigael Hurvitz, who backed Nissim's proposal, said that there was "wanton lynch-justice" in the Israeli media.

Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz said that everyone was vulnerable to character assassination but the honour of "persons in high places is not like that of lowly persons. The sor-

row of shame is worse than [that of] death," he said.

Peretz added that if a man rapes a woman he must pay a 1500 fine. (Several ministers then interjected: "New Shekels?") But if a man gives a woman a bad name, he must pay 15100 shekels. Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon at this point asked: "And what if he does both?" Peretz explained that it was worse to say something bad than to do something bad.

Defending his proposed bill, Nissim said that only 11.6 per cent of those arrested by police were ever charged. He read out an article — against publication of suspects' names — from last weekend's *Davar* in which columnist Amnon Denker related what had happened to members of his family who had been under police suspicion.

But Sharon then said: Denker has "harmed" everybody (written against everybody). How dare he now complain when he is hurt by such publication?

Peres concluded the discussion by saying that while some legislation in the matter is necessary, it would be best if a law were passed but never enforced, with the Press Council taking it upon itself to curb the press and impose discipline. Peres demanded that, before deciding on any bill, the ministerial committee meet and hear out the Press Council. The minister accepted this demand.

Haifa centre deals with all poisoning cases 50 per cent of house plants are poisonous

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Half of all houseplants are poisonous and can lead to anything from mild irritation to death, especially among young children who ingest them, according to an expert in toxicology.

The best place to call in the case of poisoning from plants or from any of 40,000 dangerous substances found in the home and elsewhere is the National Poison Control Centre in Haifa's Rambam Hospital. The number, which has several lines and is manned 24 hours a day, is (04) 529205.

Perhaps one parent in 50 has ever heard of the centre, which has been operating out of Rambam since 1968, under the aegis of the Health Ministry.

Asked what he would do if his child swallowed a poisonous substance, the average parent would suggest trying to induce vomiting by placing fingers down the child's throat. This is the wrong thing to do in most cases, says Dr. Uri Teitelman, director of the control centre and an expert in toxicology.

"Inducing vomiting can cause great damage to the esophagus and other organs if you're dealing with corrosive poisons such as toilet cleaners and substances for unblocking drains. And trying to induce vomiting with your fingers is not always successful: even if the child vomits, the stomach is not completely emptied out."

One can take the child to Magen David Adom or to a hospital emergency room; but in some cases, where a powerful poison has been ingested, it could be too late. The control centre will tell parents, as well as doctors, what to do in each case.

It is vital for every home, especially those where children are found, to have syrup of ipecac (to induce vomiting) and activated charcoal (to absorb the poison) on hand. The syrup is not available in all pharmacies, and neither is nor the charcoal is paid for by Kupat Holim Clalit. The syrup (to be used only in cases approved by the centre or a doctor) costs about NIS5 and remains effective in storage for five years.

The control centre gets more than 10,000 calls a year, 90 per cent of them from physicians. Teitelman estimates that there are actually three times as many poisoning cases as are reported. He also believes that last year some 15,000 children below the age of five accidentally ingested poison. One-tenth of the cases were serious and required hospitalization. In 1981 ("the last year we had the money for comprehensive statistics"), 17 persons died from accidental poisoning.

Unlike poison control centres in the U.S., the staff are all doctors with special training in toxicology. Abroad, "information technicians" or nurses are often on the staff.

Many cases of poisoned toddlers occur at the homes of grandparents or friends who are not used to keeping dangerous chemicals out of reach.

Teitelman says the common reaction to poisoning cases — to give milk or water — is sometimes the wrong one. Treatment must be suited to the chemical involved.

The centre was at first pestered by patients who wanted to know if the prescription given to them by their doctor was poisonous. The centre should be contacted only in cases of emergency swallowing of poisons. Teitelman conceded that the existence of the centre is not widely enough known, but added that "we are not allowed to publicize ourselves. That is up to the Health Ministry."

When *The Jerusalem Post* suggested to the ministry that the control centre's number be published in the list of emergency numbers in all newspapers, the spokesman was enthusiastic about the idea and said the proposal would be raised with director-general Dan Michaeli.



U.S. Customs and Immigration inspector Donald Learman checks an alien's "green card" at the International Peace Bridge border crossing between Buffalo, New York, and Fort Erie, Ontario. Security was tightened at the border after reports of possible attempts by terrorists to enter the U.S. (AFP telephoto)

HOME NEWS IN BRIEF

IEC board to review pay rise to workers

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Electric Corporation board of directors is to discuss on Thursday a 6 per cent increase in salaries which reportedly has been granted to its workers illegally.

According to reports, the 6 per cent has been paid to workers since last April, and violates Government Companies Authority regulations.

The IEC spokesman's office re-

fused to comment on the topic, stating that an announcement would be made after the meeting on Thursday.

Sources close to the IEC said they believed the matter was mainly a technical one, and had arisen because of yesterday's cabinet session in which a proposal backed by the IEC to lower rates to consumers was discussed.

Kiryat Yam strike shuts high schools

HAIFA. — Nearly 1,000 high-school pupils in Kiryat Yam missed lessons yesterday and kindergartens closed early because of a general strike by the town's 400 municipal employees, including high-school teachers.

The employees vowed to stay away from work until they receive their December salaries. "It's not just a question of the non-payment, we have not been told when we will receive our wages," said works committee chairman Avshalom Erev. Mayor Benyamin Shal said the municipal coffers were empty, and with debts of \$800,000 it could not take out further bank loans to pay the wages. The municipality is demanding a grant from the Interior Ministry to cover 60 per cent of its debts, and a loan, repayable over five years, to cover the remainder.

Wizo names new club after life member, 90

A women's club was inaugurated last Wednesday in the northwestern Samaritan settlement of Reihan in honour of 90-year-old Zilla Shoham. Attending the ceremony were Shoham herself, members of her family, World and Israel Wizo executives and members of the moshav.

Established six years ago, Moshav Reihan is the home of 13 young families and a Nahal group. The club will serve as the moshav's community centre.

Shoham has been an active member of Wizo since its foundation 65 years ago. She was born in Palestine to the Belkind family of Bilu fame, and is a graduate of the first class of the Herzliya Gymnasium.

Tsur calls for discussion of "grave aliyah situation"

Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur has issued an urgent call to Prime Minister Peres and Jewish Agency executive chairman Arye Dultzin to convene the joint agency-government coordinating body to discuss the "grave aliyah situation."

Tsur's action follows his ministry's publication last week of figures showing that 1985 saw the lowest number of newcomers arriving in the country since the establishment of the state. The figure for the year was 11,298 olim.

Meanwhile, Youth Aliyah head Uri Gordon told the annual conference of Telem, the Movement for Zionist Fulfillment, that the Zionist Organization was not doing enough to help people who were ready to live in Israel.

J.P.R.

Travel agents demand quick "shekelization"

The Israel Travel Agents' Association has sent urgent cables to Ministers Moda'i, Ya'acobi, Sharon, Corfu and Sharir demanding the speedy and total shekelization of the market in order to maintain travel agents' profits.

Flight tickets are among the few items that still have a dollar price tag, an ITAA spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post*. Since travel agents are no longer compensated by airlines for losses incurred through currency devaluation, and the option of safeguarding their money's value by investing in Patam accounts has become a thing of the past, travel agents are fearful that their profits will evaporate into thin air unless the government acts soon.

G.F.C.

Coffee roasters strike over frozen prices

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The country's coffee roasters cooled their ovens yesterday morning because the Industry and Trade Ministry is "ignoring the facts of life on the international coffee market."

The 60 roasting houses decided at an emergency meeting here to strike for two days to get ministry permission to bring their prices in line with the soaring cost of coffee beans.

They say the price must go up by at least 120 per cent to allow for international raw coffee prices shooting up from \$1,600 to \$3,500 and more per ton. The retail price is frozen and controlled by the ministry. Israelis consume 20 tons of coffee daily.

"If our demands are not met, we shall continue with an indefinite strike from tomorrow," said David Wolfier and Michael Reiner of the coffee roasters' action committee.

They said they would like the price control to be cancelled, "and the roasters to be allowed to compete." They believed that the market forces would then keep the price adjustment to about 100 per cent: NIS 16 per kilo for the cheapest sort, instead of the present price NIS 8 per kilo.

They noted that, while their prices were frozen, the importers had raised the price they charge for unroasted beans by 70 per cent since the new economic programme was introduced last July, making it impossible for them to carry on.

They said about 1,000 workers make their living from roasting coffee, and another 1,000 are engaged in distribution.

Coffee importer Yosef Bekhar explained that prices had shot up on the international coffee market as the result of a serious drought in Brazil, the major coffee producer, which had lost 18 million bags of coffee because of the weather. As a result they had been forced to raise their prices to the roasters from \$2,000 to over \$5,000 per ton.

Wolfier complained that the Industry and Trade Ministry had "totally ignored" all their letters, memos and cables on the subject.

Kupat Holim in need of 50 pharmacists

Kupat Holim Clalit needs 50 pharmacists to work at its clinics, the health fund's spokesman said. Kupat Holim has sent letters to university students, urging them to study pharmacology and offering them employment afterwards, but so far there have been no takers, he said.

According to the health fund, no one wants to be a public servant — pharmacists would rather set up their own businesses.

J.S.I.

Tourist raped in capital

A 17-year-old English tourist was raped last night in an alleyway in Jerusalem's Old City. The tourist, accompanied by her 22-year-old girl friend, was attacked by two young men as they left a nightclub on Rehov Akko Bat Tekiya, police reported.

Jerusalem police arrested two residents of the Old City, aged 23 and 18. They will be brought before a magistrate's court today for an extension of their remands.

Meanwhile, a 23-year-old English tourist was arrested for disturbing the peace and resisting arrest yesterday after she disrobed in the Hahn al Zed quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. The tourist was taken to Givat Shaul psychiatric hospital after police finally succeeded in dressing her.

B.A.

PLO's duty-free shops aid Tanzania's economy

By JAMES PEIPERT

ZANZIBAR (AP). — The Palestine Liberation Organization is helping Tanzania earn foreign currency by selling Western consumer goods at duty-free prices.

PLO officials describe the foreign currency shops on Zanzibar, a semi-autonomous island of Tanzania, and on the Tanzanian mainland as a form of aid "to our brothers and comrades."

They are part of a network of PLO "business interests in more than 20 countries that form the nucleus of a PLO economy in exile. Besides stores, the PLO has interests in light industry, agriculture, construction, movies and publishing, according to officials at PLO headquarters in Tunis.

The Zanzibar foreign currency shop is across Creek Road from the main produce market. There is no PLO marking out front, but shop clerks are open about the organization's connection.

The shop is the only place in town

where diplomats, Western aid workers, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers and others with access to foreign currency can buy at reasonable prices the luxury goods they were accustomed to in the West.

The well-stocked shop purveys such wares as vacuum-packed potato chips and cigarettes from America, Scotch whisky, French cheese, and appliances ranging from West German hair driers to Japanese video cassette recorders.

The shop was officially opened by Zanzibar Chief Minister Seif Sharif Hamad last August 23 as a 50-50 partnership with the Tanzanian government, said Tanzanian and PLO officials.

Last October 26, a similar PLO shop opened in downtown Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's capital on the mainland.

Tanzania under recently retired President Julius Nyerere was an outspoken advocate of Third World causes. PLO officials said the foreign currency shops here were set up by

an agreement between Nyerere and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat when the Palestinian leader visited Tanzania in 1984.

The PLO ambassador to Tanzania, Abdel Aziz Aboud Gosh, declined to discuss the shops' profitability.

"The meaning is not the profit and how much we are selling," Gosh said in an interview. "The meaning is the cooperation."

The PLO has long used small business and agricultural ventures to encourage support from the Third World nations that comprise a huge voting bloc in the UN and other international forums.

The PLO's financial interests were organized 15 years ago under an umbrella body called "Samed," or resistance. Among Samed's aims are the provision both of employment for children whose parents had died for the Palestinian cause and of financial assistance for development projects in Arab, Asian and African countries.

60 Middle Eastern terrorists in European jails

NICOSIA (AP). — While terrorists from the Middle East often die carrying out their own fiery schemes or escape unpunished, some 60 Arabs and Iranians are in European jails on charges of hijacking and perpetrating violent attacks and related crimes.

But severe punishment on such terrorists can bring retaliation as European countries that have jailed Arab radicals know only too well, and their diplomats in the Middle East say that as they watch such arrests they fear for their safety on local streets.

"If my country arrested a Lebanese, we'd move our embassy staff out immediately," said one European diplomat in Beirut.

Hence, some governments have released Arab suspects, often after the publicity associated with the crimes, arrests and trials has died down.

The exact number of Arabs imprisoned in Europe for political crimes is difficult to determine because some countries do not keep records based on nationality.

Of the 60 Arabs and Iranians now jailed in 10 European countries on charges ranging from murder and hijacking to attempted smuggling of weapons and explosives, 32 have been convicted and are serving prison sentences. The rest await trial or formal charges.

Twenty-six of the 60 are Palestinians, and include those who carried out the December 27 Rome and Vienna airport attacks that killed 19 people.

Others represent a variety of Arab

causes. Two Lebanese Shi'ites are imprisoned in Spain for attacking a Libyan diplomat in retaliation for the disappearance of Lebanese Shi'ite leader Imam Musa Sadr during a visit to Libya in 1978.

Two Iranians and three Arabs are in prison in France for the attempted murder in 1980 of Shahpour Bakhtiari, the last prime minister of Iran before Khomeini's 1979 revolution.

Many of those still awaiting charges or trial, and even some of those convicted, were arrested in last year's long string of hijackings, murders and attacks.

Hearings began this week on the case of the lone surviving hijacker of the Egyptian plane to Malta in late November. The plane's seizure ended with 60 people dead. The hijacker has told authorities he is a Lebanese-born Palestinian.

Two Palestinians and a Briton are serving life sentences in Cyprus for murdering three Israelis aboard a yacht in Larnaca in September. That act set off Israel's bombing a week later of the PLO headquarters in Tunis.

Also in Cyprus, another Palestinian, Sami Anis Maken Nasr, was charged on Tuesday with illegal possession of pistols, grenades and bullets that police said he had tried to carry aboard a Swiss jet in December.

The four Palestinians arrested in the hijacking of the Achille Lauro have been sentenced to four to nine years imprisonment on weapons charges. Their trial for the hijacking is scheduled in the spring.

Although Italy released Moham-

med Abbas, the alleged mastermind of the Achille Lauro affair, after U.S. Air Force jets forced the plane he was aboard to land in Italy, it has 24 Arabs in jail, convicted or charged — more than any other European country.

No consistent pattern of how governments deal with terrorist attacks and threats has emerged.

Britain sentenced Fahad Mihyi of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine to four life sentences for a 1979 attack on an Israeli airline crew in which a stewardess was killed. But in 1969 it set free Leila Khaled, one of the most famed Palestinian terrorists, in response to hijackings and attacks on British, American, Swiss and Israeli airliners. West Germany and Switzerland also released three Arabs each in that exchange.

Threats, attacks and kidnappings have been set off by the jailing of Arabs in Europe.

Last June, Greece released a Lebanese suspected of involvement in the hijacking of TWA flight 847 in exchange for the release of Greek passengers. Thirty-nine Americans were held hostage in Beirut for more than two weeks.

And last January, a Lebanese held in Switzerland in a plot to blow up the U.S. Embassy in Rome was given an 18-month suspended sentence and freed after kidnapped Swiss diplomat Eric Wehrli was released in Beirut.

Wehrli said he thought a deal had been struck, but Switzerland insisted it had made no concessions in secret contacts with his abductors.

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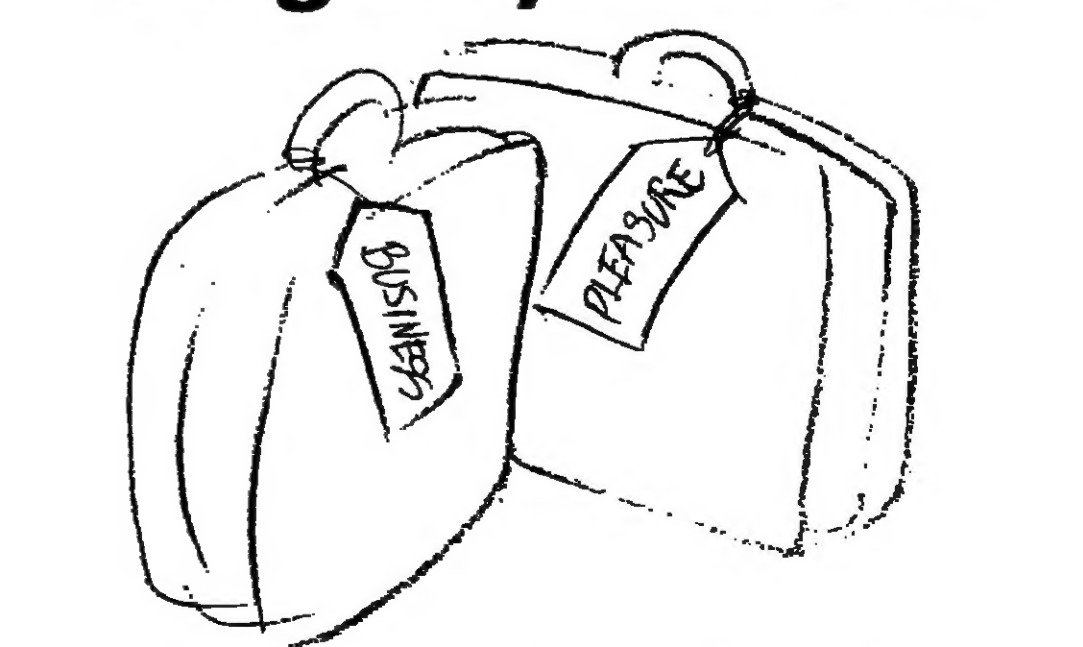
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THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations invites the public to a lecture in English by **Professor Abraham Ashkenasi** Freie Universität Berlin on **"GERMAN NATIONALISM AND THE GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENT"** Sunday, January 19, 1986, 3.30 p.m., Room 502 Meiersdorf Faculty Club, Mount Scopus Campus.

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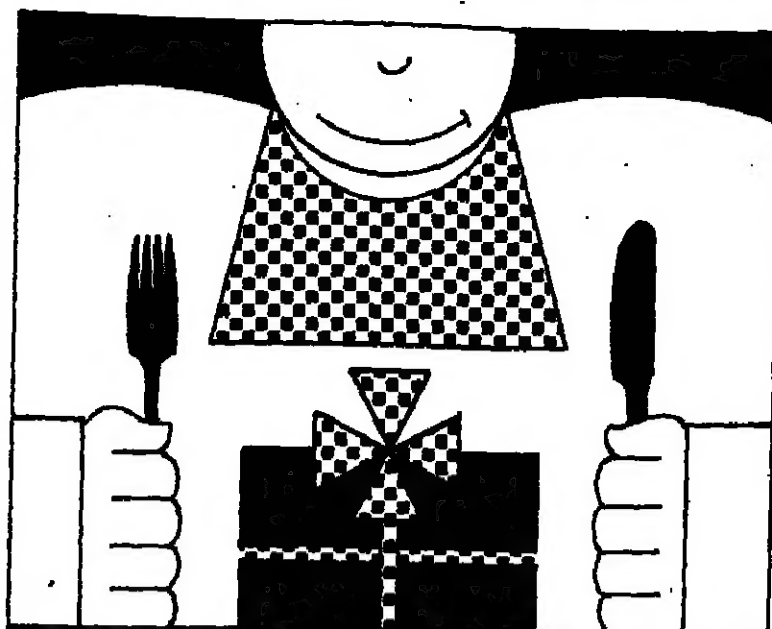
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Your relatives are visiting from abroad and want to take you out. Where? Suggest MEI NAFTOAH, the fine restaurant with the most wonderful view and setting imaginable. And it's right here in Jerusalem. Excellent Middle Eastern cuisine — stuffed vegetables, Moroccan cigars, oven baked meats, grills, fish, wines and liqueurs. It's the place where knowledgeable Israelis eat. MEI NAFTOAH in LIFTA — at the Tel Aviv exit from Jerusalem, after the two gas stations, take the new road on the right, follow the RESTAURANT sign for one kilometre. Open Sun.-Thurs. noon till midnight, Sat. after shabbat, closed Friday. Kosher of course. Ideal for post barmitzvah lunches. Tel. 02-521374, ask for Mira or Eli.

Fibre Arts Exclusive Home in Jerusalem

Don't end your visit to the Old City without a stop at the only gallery in Israel where fibre is an art form — The Courtyard Gallery. Cotton, wool, silk and other natural fibres are fashioned into exquisite items. There's fine art you can hang on your wall — weavings, batiks, tapestries, appliques and Beduin embroideries. And ingenious and attractive handicrafts, including sweaters, hand-woven shawls, challah covers, kippot, pillows and Yemenite basketware. All by Israel's leading fibre designers and craftspeople, and in a wide range of prices. The Courtyard Gallery open daily 10-6, Friday 10-1. 16 Tiferet Yisrael Street in the Jewish Quarter. Phone 287802.

MASHTELA AVI SUPPLIES ALL YOUR GARDENING NEEDS

If you want a lovely green garden or balcony and your bank manager won't help then go to MASHTELA AVI, the plant nursery at Malka (Manahat). Their selection is vast and their prices are reasonable. They've everything for winter planting — bulbs and seeds — anemones, phlox, stocks, ranunculus, alissum, asters, snapdragons etc. Their selection of house plants and seedlings is overwhelming and they've everything else, pots and holders, fertilisers, tools, etc. And MASHTELA AVI will give you back IS 35 on every empty throwaway plastic plant holder. Well worth a visit — at GESHER MALKA — almost on the bridge on the way to Kiryat Yovel from town. Tel. 02-411853. Sun. — Thurs. 7-3, 4-6, closed Wednesday afternoon. Friday 7-2.

RIDDLE OF THE WEEK

How do the following LOW fares: \$149, \$265, \$415, \$525, \$585, \$650, \$719, \$977 match up with flights to New York, Boston, Chicago, Johannesburg and London. Some are return fares, some are one; some are for youth, and one is payable in 10 unlinked payments. If you can't figure it out, let us help. We take the guessing game out of travel and you're the winner. The prize — an incredibly LOW, LOW fare. ZIONTOURS JERUSALEM, 23 HILLEL ST. (next to Shammai St. Post Office). Tel. 02-233328/7/8. Open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m.; Wed. and Fri. till 1 p.m.

Mark Feldman
Your travel professional

THE NEW LE SOUFFLE HAS INFLATION ON THE ROPES

Four of us went to dinner, we ate our fill from Chef Glicama's exciting menu of French dairy and vegetarian delicacies and we had change from IS50,000. That's the new LE SOUFFLE — warm stylish atmosphere in a unique location, give-away prices. They've appetizing soups, tempting salads, souffles and fish dishes, super home-made desserts and pies. At lunch time there's a fantastic buffet — soup, and all you can eat for only IS7,500 plus service. That's the new LE SOUFFLE at 17 REHOV YAFO (across from City Hall — on the way to the Jaffa Gate). Business is booming so we suggest you reserve 02-233745. Kosher of course.

DRIVE CAREFULLY
A little courtesy won't kill you!

FOREIGN NEWS

Invites Reagan to pay him a visit

Gaddafi gives journalists rare glimpse of family

By KATE DOURIAN
TRIPOLI (Reuters). — With the flair of a master showman, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi accorded a handful of women journalists a rare glimpse of his family in his Beduin tent — then invited President Ronald Reagan to come too.

Gaddafi said the U.S. president would change his mind about him being a terrorist if he came to visit him.

"He would see I don't live in trenches with hand grenades in my belt or carry a pistol. They think I don't laugh or smile, that I have no family," he told the reporters on Saturday.

The 43-year-old Gaddafi was flanked by his wife Safiya and four of his seven children in his tent pitched inside the fortified Bab-el-Azzazia barracks on the outskirts of Tripoli.

He confided that he tried to help his children with their homework and that he wanted them all to grow up to be doctors.

Gaddafi, exploiting the presence of a big press corps which descended on Tripoli since a crisis flared with the U.S., told the women: "I'm inviting Reagan through you."

Reagan has imposed economic sanctions on Libya and denounced Gaddafi as a barbarian, accusing him of harbouring the Abu Nidal terrorists, blamed for attacks which killed 19 people in Rome and Vienna airports on December 27.

Gaddafi, born to nomadic parents, was dressed in Beduin style when he presented his family to the women reporters. His 32-year-old wife was dressed in a red and black outfit. Her head was uncovered.

She said she did not like politics. Safiya recalled she was a student nurse when she first saw Gaddafi. He had just had an operation to remove his appendix shortly after seizing power as a young army officer in 1969. Only one of their seven children is a girl, named after his mother.

Gaddafi said he would like more children. He said several of his brothers and sisters died of malaria before he was born. So he insisted that his own children take up the medical profession to help the starving and the sick in Africa.

Although devoted to his children, Gaddafi has a hard time remembering their ages. Saifiya listened quietly, clutching her four-year-old son, Saif al-Arab (the sword of the Arabs), closely to her breast. Gaddafi does not want his wife to cover her head. It is a custom which has no meaning, he said.

Security tightened in Europe's airports

Craxi warns of more terrorism in Italy

ROME. — Prime Minister Bettino Craxi has warned that because of unresolved conflicts in the Mediterranean region Italy runs a high risk of more terrorist attacks like the airport gun battle in which 16 people died last month.

Craxi sounded his warning as security was tightened at airports in Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden after Interpol warned them that the sites might be targeted for an attack. Patrols in most West European countries have been beefed up and are backed by plainclothes policemen following Interpol's warning.

Craxi in a half-yearly report to parliament on the activities of the civilian and military intelligence services, listed the Palestinian problem and Lebanon as two of the "high risk factors" that threatened Italy with further terror.

He warned of the "permanent danger posed by certain Middle East groups whose terrorist initiatives can be seen in the wider context of international subversion."

Craxi's report of parliament, a confidential document which was quoted widely and consistently in Italian newspapers, said divisions within the Palestinian movement and between moderate and hardline Arab governments could also foster terrorist attacks involving Italy.

The Italian news agency reported yesterday that Mohammed Sarhan, the only surviving terrorist of the Rome airport attack, has been moved from a Rome military hospital to a maximum security prison in central Italy, about 130km. north of Rome. (Reuters, AFP, AP)

Heseltine steps up attacks on Thatcher for 'effrontery'

LONDON (Reuters). — Former defence secretary Michael Heseltine, who resigned last week over a row on the rescue of Britain's only helicopter firm, yesterday intensified his attacks on Prime Minister Thatcher's handling of the affair.

Heseltine, whose abrupt resignation on Thursday is already seen as having damaged Thatcher's public standing, renewed charges that she had acted without majority cabinet backing to thwart the European bid he favoured.

Thatcher's handling of the rescue of the ailing Westland firm "was an affront to our constitutional practices," he told an interviewer on commercial British television.

He said the prime minister had gone back on a promise to hold a cabinet meeting in December to discuss further a bid by a European consortium, although his cabinet colleagues had supported continued consideration of the offer.

Thatcher has insisted her government has remained neutral in the affair, saying Westland, whose board favours a rescue package led by U.S. helicopter giant Sikorsky and Fiat of Italy, must be allowed to decide on its own future.

The row, focusing fresh attention on what many commentators see as Thatcher's autocratic leadership, appeared set to drag on as Westland admitted that a crucial shareholders meeting tomorrow could end in deadlock or adjournment without a vote.

Black activist leader killed near Jo'burg

JOHANNESBURG (AP). — A black anti-apartheid activist who was to have met with a top U.S. State Department official yesterday was chased from his home and hacked to death, witnesses said yesterday.

Ampie Mayisa, 58, was murdered by about 10 blacks, described as being his political opponents, about two hours after sundown on Saturday, the witnesses said.

The incident occurred a day before Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, had planned to tour black slums east of Johannesburg and meet with community leaders, including Mayisa.

Mayisa was active in Leandra black township, about 120 km. east of Johannesburg, opposing white-imposed community councils and the rent hikes that those councils forced on residents. The victim was generally known as a supporter of the United Democratic Front, the nation's largest multi-racial organization opposed to apartheid.

Witnesses and Leandra residents said the Zulu-speaking attackers, who returned to the home yesterday morning, called themselves "concerned residents" who opposed the UDF.

Anglican bishop Simeon Nkomo said that residents believed the attackers were loyal to Inkatha, a Zulu political movement opposed to the UDF.

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Because of recent terrorist action, Amsterdam's Schiphol airport has taken special security precautions in common with other West European countries. Here two armed plainclothes men are on guard in the departure hall. (Reuters telephoto)

FOREIGN NEWS IN BRIEF

Malcolm Rifkind named to Thatcher's cabinet

LONDON (JTA). — Malcolm Rifkind, a 39-year-old lawyer, has been appointed secretary of state for Scotland, making him the youngest person in Margaret Thatcher's cabinet and his fifth Jewish-born member.

Born and educated in Scotland, Rifkind for the past three years was minister of state at the Foreign Office in charge of European and East-West questions.

Rifkind replaces George Younger, who becomes defence secretary following the resignation of Michael Heseltine last week.

At least 12 die as Cairo buildings collapse
CAIRO (AP). — Five apartment buildings on a crowded city centre street collapsed yesterday morning, killing at least 12 and wounding scores of inhabitants, eyewitnesses said.

A local resident said the buildings were very old and that a government expert had been scheduled to examine them last week to decide whether or not they should be pulled down.

WWII Japanese said aiding Malaysian rebels
KUALA LUMPUR (Reuters). — Two Japanese soldiers lost in the jungle in World War II are still there, helping communist guerrillas to maintain their weapons, the Malaysian national news agency Bernama reported yesterday.

The agency quoted security officials as saying the outlawed Communist Party of Malaya found the soldiers near the Thai border in 1948 and put them to work repairing war-vintage arms and making bombs and booby traps.

Danish court orders teenager confined to local zoo
COPENHAGEN (AFP). — A Danish youth aged 17 is likely to have a beastly time while awaiting trial on a theft charge — he is being kept in a zoo.

On Friday the Copenhagen Appeal Court approved an order by a lower court at Gladsaxe that the youth should be detained at the zoo between morning and evening, on the Jutland peninsula, until his case comes up.

The Appeal Court judges gave no reason for their decision, but legal sources said they probably wanted to keep the boy away from the hardened criminals he might meet in prison.

India introduces MiG-27 to its air force
NEW DELHI (AFP). — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on Saturday formally inducted the Soviet-built MiG-27 all-weather supersonic strike aircraft into the Indian Air Force.

"Fly them hard and fly them well," Gandhi, a former airline pilot, told the airmen at a ceremony held at a western airbase, Press Trust of India reported. India and Syria are the only countries outside the Warsaw Pact to get the MiG-27, codenamed "Flogger-D" by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It represents some of the Soviet Union's most advanced technology in aircraft design, engines, avionics and weapons.

Colombian guerrilla boasts of 158 murders
BOGOTA (Reuters). — A Colombian guerrilla leader met the press to say he was proud of having killed 158 people and to put on display six people about to be shot as army informers.

The six, including a 14-year-old boy, were shown Friday, bound and chained together, in Colombia's central Andes Mountain range. Jose Fedor Rey, leader of Colombia's Ricardo Franco guerrillas, told reporters that the captives soon would undergo "revolutionary justice", bringing to 164 the number of people killed by his group as army informers.

Punjab gunmen increase death toll to 13
NEW DELHI (Reuters). — Gunmen shot dead a doctor and wounded a second person in Punjab yesterday.

A third man died of injuries received in an extremist attack in the Sikh holy city of Amritsar on January 6. Thirteen people have now been killed in Punjab since last Monday.

Amritsar district police chief S.S. Virk said he expected more violence because large numbers of Sikh extremists were crossing into Punjab from Pakistan.

SPORTS

Dadosh v Uri

By PAUL KOHN

The gloomy skies over Jerusalem yesterday reflected the mood in Betar Jerusalem's headquarters, where a crisis atmosphere has broken out because a dispute between club chairman Moshe Dadosh and club idol Uri Malmilian has resulted in Dadosh tendering his resignation. The Herut party are pressuring "the Betar boss" to remain in his post.

Malmilian claims that he agreed to Dadosh's request to wait three months for payment of bonuses due to him, and that the period has expired without the money being paid, so he is demanding a bank guarantee from the club, which is in dire financial straits. The star midfielder refused to play for Betar on Saturday against Maccabi Petah Tikva on the ground that he was injured, and Betar lost 2-0. Dadosh is up in arms about Malmilian's demand.

Soccer feast
By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — The Ramat Gan Stadium will become a popular training ground for World Cup soccer teams on their way to Mexico in May. Argentina is the latest country that will play against Israel prior to the World Cup finals. They will play here on May 4.

Scotland play Israel at Ramat Gan at the end of this month. The date of the game is still to be finalised. It will give Israelis an idea of what might have been, if only Israel had beaten Australia in the World Cup qualifying games. England will officially open the national stadium on February 26. Before their game here, England play against Egypt in Cairo.

Argentina won the World Cup eight years ago, the last time the finals were played in Latin America, and are second favourites to Brazil to win in Mexico.

Yesterday Liverpool beat Watford 3-1 in an English First Division match. In the French League, Paris-Saint-Germain drew 1-1 with Reims to retain their record unbeaten run of 25 games without defeat, a feat never before accomplished in French football.

Israel and Europe
By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — UEFA's Executive Committee will examine a special committee study on Israel at its Rome meeting next month. The special committee was set up by Fifa and Uefa to try to find a solution to the problems surrounding the Jewish state in the context of European and world soccer.

"It is difficult to gauge whether the recommendations will be in our favour, or not, Azrikam Milchan, the Football Association Vice-Chairman, who was Israel's sole spokesman before the committee, told me upon his return here last night.

The five man committee, comprising members from Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland, England and FIFA, sitting in Zurich, heard Milchan's lengthy testimony. A further meeting of the Committee was scheduled for the end of February, and its recommendations will be presented before the European Soccer Federation (UEFA) Congress in Lisbon in April.

The Israel F.A. delegation of Milchan, F.A. Chairman Shaul Sivri and Yacov Erel, the secretary-general, also met with UEFA President Jacques Georges of France.

Shum resigns
By PAUL KOHN

REHOVOT. — Yitzhak Shum, the coach of Maccabi Sha'arayim here, resigned yesterday, after his team lost 1-0 to bottom-of-the-table Maccabi Jaffa. Sha'arayim, promoted at the beginning of the season, have won only one of their 12 league games, and Shum says that the players badly need motivation, and that they are not yet ready for National League soccer. This was the first coaching assignment of Shum, who represented Israel as a player on numerous occasions.

Netanya race
By JACK LEON

Jerusalem Post Sports Reporter
TEL AVIV. — International distance runners Pavel and Petr Kines of Czechoslovakia and Gerry Staunton from Ireland will be among the 300 athletes expected for tomorrow's inaugural 25-km Netanya road race, which is being held in aid of the Israel Defence Forces fund Libi. Leading the home entry will be Dov Kremer, winner of the 14-km Jerusalem Ammanaleg Run two weeks ago.

The race, open to all comers, is organised by the Israel Association of Veterans Athletes (IAVA), together with the Netanya Municipality. It gets under way at 2 p.m. from the seaside town's Kikar Atzmaut and registration can be made at the starting point from 12 noon. Entry fee is NIS 18. Supplementing the main event will be a 5-km fun-run, for which the charge is NIS 2. Race manager is Barry Shaw of Kibbutz Mikhman Hasharon.

The meet will be the first of several "fun runs" planned this year for the 20th annual World Veterans Championships, which will take place over the same course in March, 1987, under the auspices of the IAVA.

Doubles maestros
LONDON (Reuters). — Heinz Gunthardt and Balazs Taroczy, the Wimbledon men's doubles champions, reinforced their claim to be considered the world's best pair when they won the final of the WCT Doubles Tournament in the Royal Albert Hall here, after a titanic struggle against Paul Annaco and Christo van Rensburg. Gunthardt and Taroczy won 6-4, 1-6, 7-6, 6-7, 6-4.

In Washington, Merdon Nevill's last Zulu Golfers 4-1, 6-2 and Charles Kiblich beat Rodin Berge 6-4, 7-5 to go into the semi-finals of the Washington tournament.

Basketball tonight
Ray RG v Gail Haskins; Mac RG v Mac Haskins; Ray TA v Betar TA; Elhanan Netanyu v Mac TA; Ray Haskins v Ray Haskins.

Fighting Words

Europe Has Its Reasons for Turning the Other Cheek

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

UNITED States frustration in attempting to neutralize the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, was compounded last week by what some American commentators portrayed as the craven reaction of the Western European allies. Although Canada supported Washington and Italy announced that it would restrict weapons sales to Libya, the Europeans, with the unanimity of a Greek chorus, expressed their unwillingness to follow President Reagan's lead in attempting to isolate Libya by imposing economic sanctions.

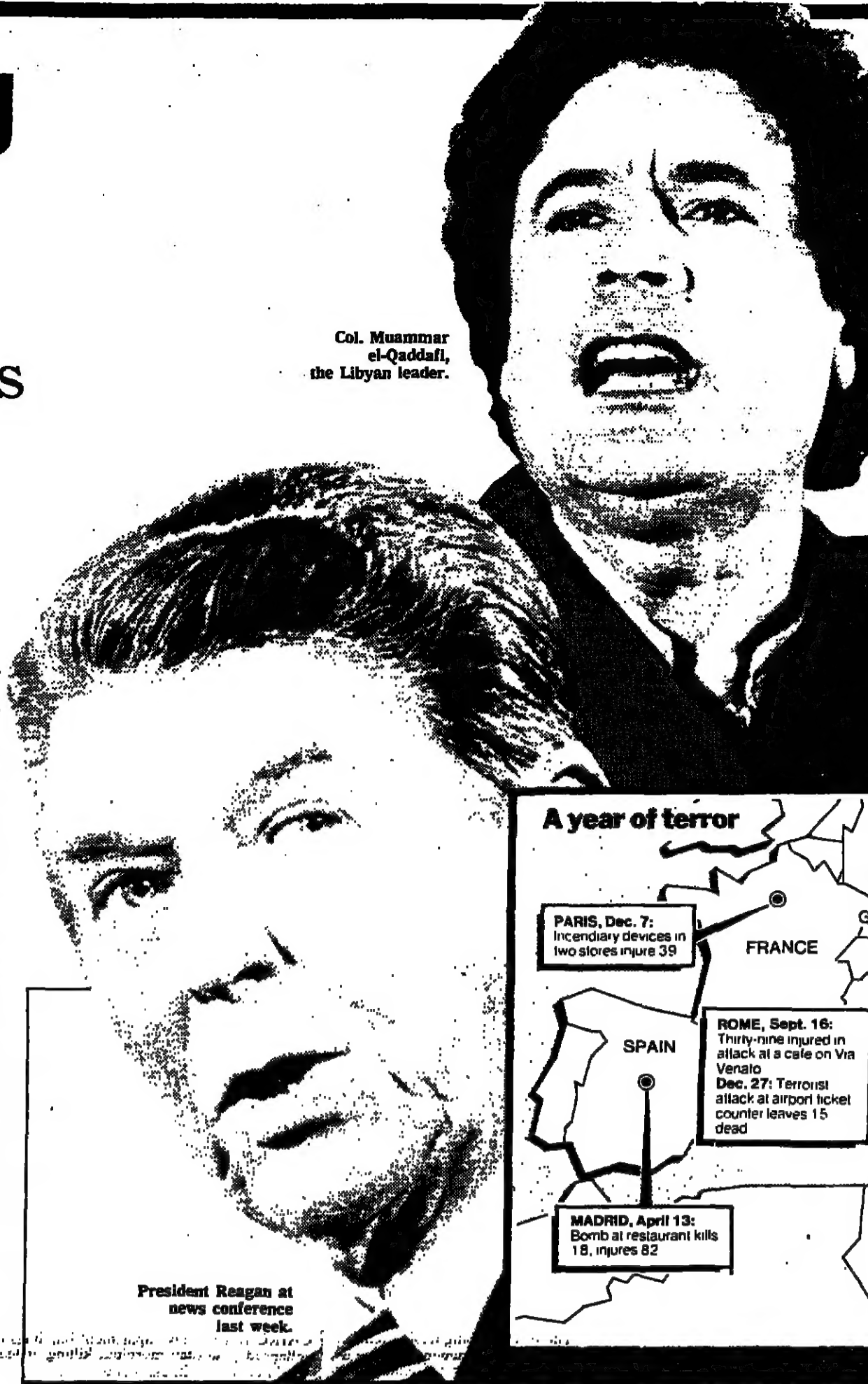
Mr. Reagan personified American outrage as he castigated Colonel Qaddafi for supporting the cold-blooded attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports Dec. 27 in which 19 people, 5 of them Americans, were killed. He severed virtually all trade links with Libya, froze its assets in the United States and ordered the more than 1,000 Americans working there to depart. And he said Americans would "not understand" if other countries moved into Libya "to take commercial advantage of our departure."

But the maverick Libyan leader, whose oil-blessed desert nation seemed to loom larger in the American imagination than its population of four million might merit, appeared to relish the attention. His state-run television reviled Mr. Reagan as "an Israeli dog barking in a Zionist kennel," while Colonel Qaddafi called in Western European ambassadors and asserted that an armed conflict with America should be avoided "because violence is an act of madness." Striking a pose of reasonableness, he even offered to cooperate in combating terrorism.

Far from looking isolated, Colonel Qaddafi won strong support from Moscow, where Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze accused Washington of "flagrant disregard for the sovereignty of states," and even from Arab nations that normally have little stomach for him. Contemplating an American military assault on a fellow Arab, they tried to avert a showdown that might sabotage the fragile Middle East peace process and inflame their populations. (Qaddafi riding high, page 2.)

Secretary of State George P. Shultz conceded that he had not had "a lot of success" in persuading the Europeans. The stage was being set for a classic confrontation between an activist America, insistent that a perceived evil should be extirpated, and Western Europeans accustomed to coexisting with unpleasant neighbors and less persuaded of the redemptive possibilities of diplomacy. The issue also pitted the United States, which feels under attack by terrorist outbursts — but which has known little of terrorism at home — against Western Europeans whose capacity for outrage has perhaps been dulled by a steady drumbeat of atrocities on their own territory. After the latest incidents, thousands of jittery Americans canceled European travel. But insouciant Europeans stuck to vacation plans, assessing the odds of a hand grenade in an airport rather than skiers do Alpine avalanches that annually take a number of lives.

Some policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic feared that, if misplayed, the Libyan-sanctions question could turn into a humiliating rerun of the Reagan Administration's failure in 1982 to block West European participation in building a Soviet oil pipeline from Siberia. But initial visits by American ambassadors to foreign ministries suggested that friendly persuasion, not threats or



Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader.

President Reagan at news conference last week.

the hard sell, would characterize Washington's anti-Qaddafi campaign this time. Past attempts to isolate Libya eventually lost momentum, and some Europeans evidently assumed that Washington's attention would, as has often happened, soon swing elsewhere.

Leverage Weakened

For West European Governments deeply worried about unemployment, pocketbook considerations took precedence over Atlantic solidarity or the morality of tolerating terrorism. European Community countries imported Libyan oil and gas valued at \$6.4 billion in 1984 while exporting \$3.8 billion worth of everything from steel to detergents, according to the International Monetary Fund. Colonel Qaddafi has been deft at making strategic investments with friendly West Europeans, buying a 13 percent share of Fiat in Italy and placing a \$5 billion order for a steel complex with Voest-Alpine, a faltering Austrian state-owned company.

Even so, the Reagan Administration's initiative came at a moment when the Libyan leader was far more dependent on the West Europeans than they on him. The 40,000 Europeans in Libya, 15,000 of them Italians, are

vital to his economy. The collapse of oil prices and reduced demand for Libyan light crude have weakened Colonel Qaddafi's leverage in Western Europe, which in 1984 bought 90 percent of his oil. Lower oil prices have forced Libya to cut back on Western European imports.

The American notion that the Europeans are "soft" on terrorism does not apply to their home-grown varieties. Italy and West Germany, Libya's biggest trading partners, quelled their own Red Brigades and Red Army Faction in the late 1970's. Britain has kept the pressure on in its long-running battle with the Irish Republican Army. And democratic Spain, after suffering police and military casualties worthy of a small insurrection, has started to reduce the depredations of the Basque separatist movement, ETA. Firsthand experience in dealing with domestic terrorism, however, makes some West Europeans wary of American appeals to "uproot" a phenomenon that has shown considerable resilience. A shadowy successor generation of Red Army Faction terrorists still launches episodic bombings in West Germany, and Belgium and France have lately been shaken by indigenous terrorist attacks.

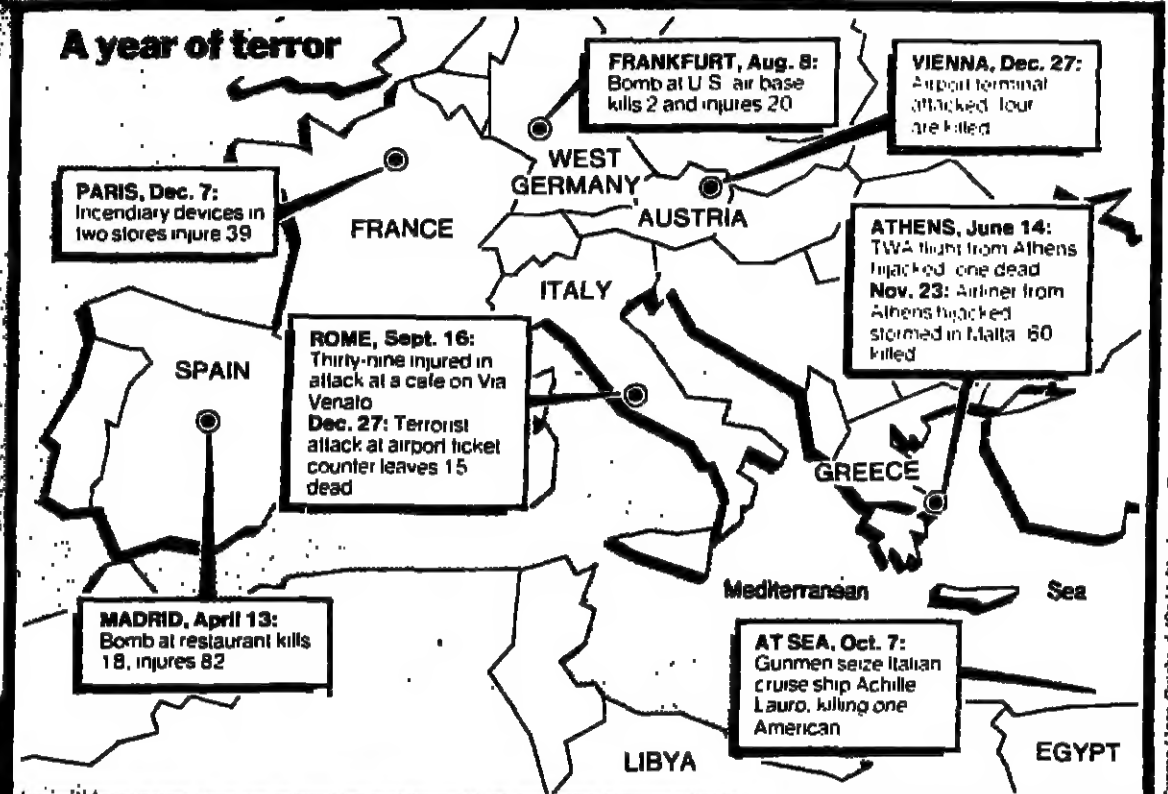
But in facing up to Arab and state-sponsored terror-

Libyan economic ties

Tripoli's major trading partners in 1984
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	Imports from Libya	Exports to Libya
Italy	2,527	1,826
West Germany	1,996	885
Spain	989	293
France	753	233
Turkey	655	155
Yugoslavia	407	225
Switzerland	402	110
Netherlands	366	204
Greece	326	120
Romania	311	140
Industrialized nations	7,737	5,086
United States	9	220
European Economic Community	6,428	3,817
Developing nations	2,542	1,572
East bloc	240	211
Total Libyan trade	10,519	6,869

Source: International Monetary Fund



Sygma/Jean Guichard (Qaddafi); Agence France Press

From the Pentagon, an Ultimate Battle Plan

WASHINGTON

THE military is rarely very explicit about how the United States would wage war with the Soviet Union. But now Adm. James D. Watkins, the Chief of Naval Operations, has provided an unusually candid glimpse of the tactics being considered in Pentagon war rooms. In an article published by the United States Naval Institute, he acknowledged that in a major nonnuclear conflict the Navy might seek to attack Soviet submarines carrying nuclear missiles. Such a strategy, conceded Admiral Watkins, the first nuclear submarine officer to rise to the Navy's top job, "is not without risk." Some analysts maintain that the risks would in fact be considerable, and that the strategy could lead the Soviet Union to respond with nuclear weapons. Following are excerpts from the admiral's article, "The Maritime Strategy":

The United States is inevitably a maritime nation, and the United States and its Navy have inescapable global responsibilities. A carefully designed strategy has always been an imperative, but the need for a sound strategy has grown all the more important as the Soviets developed a formidable blue-water Navy able to challenge U.S. interests worldwide. Accordingly, three years ago, we reviewed our extant strategy—a strategy with broad contours reasonably well understood, but one which had not been submitted to the rigor inherent in codification. The result of that effort was the Maritime Strategy.

The Maritime Strategy: Warfighting

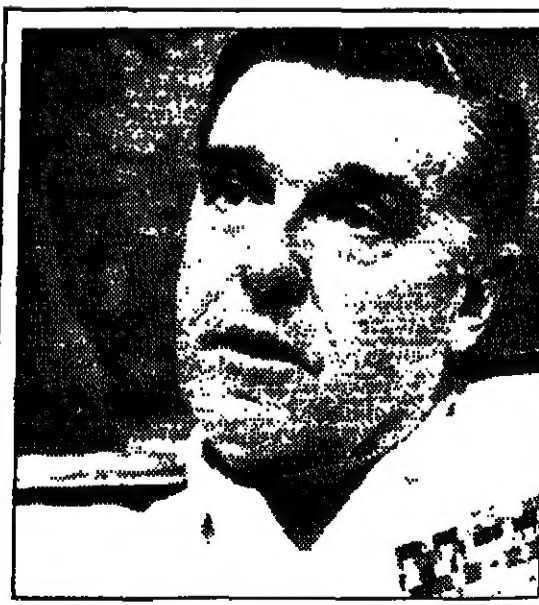
Should war come, the Soviets would prefer to use their massive ground force advantage against Europe without having to concern themselves with

a global conflict or with actions on their flanks. It is this preferred Soviet strategy the United States must counter. The key to doing so is to ensure that they will have to face the prospect of prolonged global conflict. Maritime forces have a major role to play in this regard. The strategy setting forth their contribution consists of three phases: deterrence or the transition to war; seizing the initiative, and carrying the fight to the enemy. There are no fixed time frames associated with these phases; they provide a broad outline of what we want to accomplish, not an attempt to predict an inherently unpredictable future.

Maritime Strategy and War Termination

The goal of the overall Maritime Strategy, particularly of Phase III, is to use maritime power, in combination with the efforts of our sister services and forces of our allies, to bring about war termination on favorable terms. In a global war, our objectives are to:

- Deny the Soviets their kind of war by exerting global pressure, indicating that the conflict will be neither short nor localized.
- Destroy the Soviet Navy: both important in itself and a necessary step for us to realize our objectives.
- Influence the land battle by limiting redeployment of forces, by ensuring reinforcement and resupply, and by direct application of carrier air and amphibious power.
- Terminate the war on terms acceptable to us and to our allies through measures such as threatening direct attack against the homeland or changing the nuclear correlation of forces.



'The strategy depends on early reaction to crisis.'

Adm. James D. Watkins

The Soviets place great weight on the nuclear correlation of forces, even during the time before nuclear weapons have been used. Maritime forces can influence that correlation, both by destroying Soviet ballistic missile submarines and by improving our own nuclear posture through deployment of carriers and Tomahawk platforms around the periphery of the Soviet Union. Some argue that such steps will lead to immediate escalation, but escalation solely as a result of actions at sea seems improbable, given the Soviet land orientation. Escalation in response to maritime pressure serves no useful purpose for the Soviets since their reserve forces would be degraded and the United States' retaliatory posture would be enhanced. Neither we nor the Soviets can rule out the possibility that escalation will occur, but aggressive use of maritime power can make escalation a less attractive option to the Soviets with the passing of every day.

The real issue, however, is not how the Maritime Strategy is influenced by nuclear weapons, but the reverse: how maritime power can alter the nuclear equation. As our maritime campaign progresses, and as the nuclear option becomes less attractive, prolonging the war also becomes unattractive, since the Soviets cannot decouple Europe from the United States and the risk of escalation is always present. Maritime forces thus provide strong pressure for war termination that can come from nowhere else.

Our strategy is not without risk. The strategy depends on early reaction to crisis and the political will to make difficult decisions early. It will require flexibility to meet the inevitable changes in Soviet strategy. To some, that aspect of the strategy which focuses on altering the nuclear balance may seem dangerous. But the risks exist for both sides; that is the nature of deterrence.

The World

Platinum Mine Fires 20,000 In South Africa

When South African platinum miners refused to call off a six-day strike last week, their employer turned to a drastic solution: It dismissed 20,000 workers, all of them nonwhite, then paid them off and sent them home on buses.

The Impala mine, which was struck Jan. 1, is in the "tribal homeland" of Bophuthatswana, one of a handful deemed by South Africa to be independent and black-ruled. But the General Mining Union Corporation, or Gencor, met no official resistance to the practice — permitted by South African law — of dismissing strikers at will. Gencor said it planned to find replacements among the many unemployed black miners in Bophuthatswana. In a similar dispute last year, the Anglo American Mining Corporation dismissed 14,000 miners but rehired most of them — a practice that weeds out militant workers.

In Lusaka, meanwhile, the leader of the outlawed African National Congress called for "rapid, extensive escalation" of the war against white rule. Oliver Tambo, was ambiguous about the Congress's responsibility for a bombing that killed five whites near Durban, but he said civilians would inevitably die in the crossfire.

And a delegation of visiting American Congressmen met — to their dissatisfaction — with President P. W. Botha. The group departed convinced that United States sanctions are warranted, said Representative William H. Gray 3d, Democrat of Pennsylvania.

At the same time, Bishop Desmond M. Tutu of Johannesburg was in the United States. From the pulpit and on television

he thanked supporters and chastised opponents of economic sanctions. At the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Manhattan he referred skeptically to claims that sanctions would hurt blacks. "If additional suffering is going to put a terminus to our suffering," he said, "then we will accept it."

Reagan Is Urged To Break SALT II

The view is far from unanimous in Washington, but the Defense Department says the Soviet Union has a "policy of treaty violations." With that as his text, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger has urged President Reagan to set aside some restraints imposed by the unratified 1979 strategic arms limitation treaty known as SALT II.

Government officials said last week that Mr. Weinberger had recommended breaching the treaty ceiling of 1,200 missiles with multiple warheads by retiring, but not dismantling, two Poseidon submarines when a newer-model Trident sub goes to sea in May and by replacing some single-warhead Minuteman missiles with Minuteman 3's that carry three warheads.

In June, Mr. Reagan ordered continued compliance with the treaty, saying he wanted "to foster an atmosphere of mutual restraint conducive to serious negotiations" with Moscow. A Poseidon carrying 16 nuclear missiles was dismantled to preserve the ceiling when a Trident armed with 24 missiles recently went to sea.

In his latest recommendations, Mr. Weinberger also suggested encoding the signals from American missile tests so the Russians could not keep tabs on them and stepping up research on biological and chemical weapons. The United States has

accused Moscow of improperly encoding Soviet missile tests.

The White House has sent the Weinberger recommendations to the State Department and arms-control and intelligence officials for comment. In earlier testimony, Lieut. Gen. John T. Chain Jr. at that time a ranking State Department official, said loosening the treaty restraints would risk an arms race that the United States could lose. In a closed-door session of the Senate Armed Services Committee, General Chain, who was director of State's bureau of political-military affairs, also contradicted the Pentagon's view on Soviet treaty compliance, saying that the Soviet Union had complied with the vast majority of important arms-control provisions.

A Marcos Charge Iirks Mrs. Aquino

Corazon C. Aquino tried to make herself perfectly clear last week: She is not a Communist, never has been one and, if she beats Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos in next month's election, will not allow a Communist in her cabinet. The widow of the assassinated opposition leader, Benigno S. Aquino Jr., also challenged Mr. Marcos to "put up or shut up" on his much-repeated charge that the opposition was "bedding with Communists."

Two weeks ago in the northern city of Baguio, Mrs. Aquino appeared to take a more tolerant position, saying she would welcome Communists into her government, but only if they firmly renounced violence and took part in the electoral process. Mr. Marcos, who has long insisted that his Government is the only alternative to the Communists, said the comment was "more or less" an admission that Mrs. Aquino is supported by Communist rebels. Last week the President found new evidence that his rival "agreed to share power with Communists" in the declaration of unity Mrs. Aquino signed with a group of opposition leaders, and Mrs. Aquino said she was "sick and tired" of his accusations.

"Marcos said I am being supported by Communists," she told university professors and students in the district of Sampa-loc. "Yet he points to no one. He also said my husband Ninoy founded the Communist Party of the Philippines at the same time that he says Ninoy was shot by a Communist."

New Protests Worry Haiti

Anti-Government protests are rare in Haiti, which has been the Duvalier family's poverty-stricken fief for nearly 30 years. Last week, however, security forces killed one person as anti-Government demonstrators marched and blocked roads in at least three towns and burned Government buildings in Petit Goave, southwest of Port au Prince, the capital.

The protests, coming six weeks after similar demonstrations in half a dozen towns, in which four students were killed by soldiers and a teacher died in police custody, projected a new boldness that had some members of the Government worried. Foreign diplomats said the challenge to President Jean-Claude Duvalier was the

most serious since he succeeded his father, François, 15 years ago.

Haiti depends on foreign aid for one-third of its \$480 million annual budget; Congress requires an annual certification of human rights progress as a condition for continuing the United States share. But most of the \$56 million in American aid requested for this year is in food or relief channeled through private organizations, which Congress has said should continue regardless of the human rights assessment.

More than half of Haiti's work force is believed to be unemployed, and food and fuel prices rose sharply last year. Last week, President Duvalier announced 10 percent price cuts for rice, canned milk, cooking oil and diesel fuel.

Milt Freudenheim and Richard Levine

In Brief

An Old Debt

When West Germany's Deutsche Bank bought most of the Flick holding company last month, it acquired a potentially embarrassing liability — a \$2-million claim on behalf of Jews forced into slave labor during World War II. Last week the bill was finally paid, ending an effort by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims to obtain reparations for 1,300 survivors of Nazi forced labor programs. Several major German companies agreed in the 1960's to pay about \$20 million to former Jewish prisoners they had exploited; Flick also said it would pay, then reneged. The concern said last week it was making the payment "on humanitarian grounds."

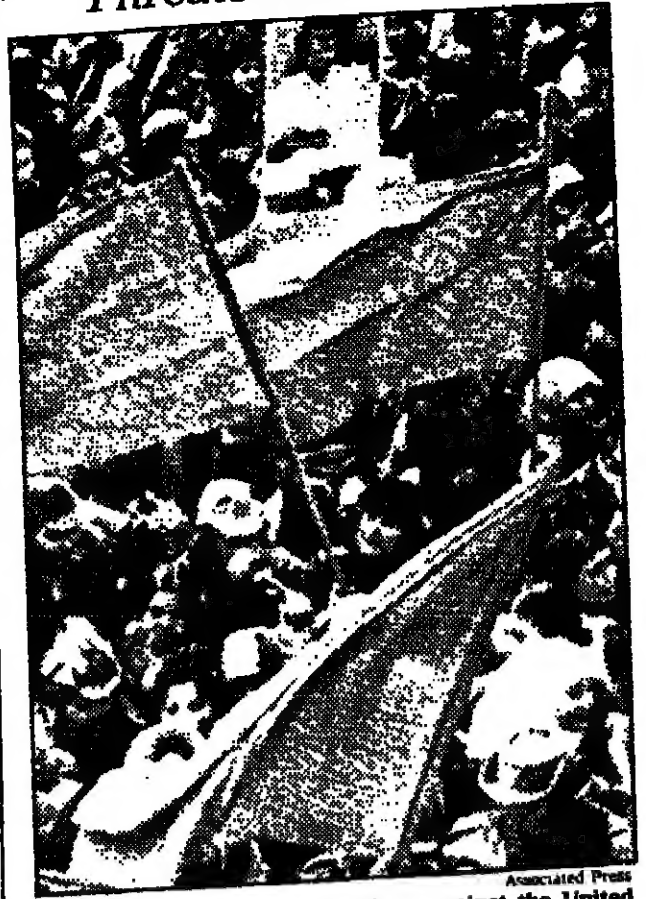
A Bad Review

The production of "Amerika," an ABC mini-series about a drab and deprived United States 10 years after a K.G.B.-engineered takeover and one of several American efforts that Soviet officials have pronounced insulting, has been suspended after a warning Moscow sent to Broadcast Row. Brandon Stoddard, president of the network's entertainment division, said last week that the production had been beset by financial problems. But, he added, "part of the consideration" in deciding its ultimate fate would be a warning issued to Walter Rodgers, the Moscow bureau chief, when he was summoned to the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Dec. 15.

The Unidentified

Heavy snows in Newfoundland and a mistake by the military were blamed last week for a delay in identifying the remains of most of the 248 American soldiers and eight crew members killed when their chartered DC-8 crashed after refueling at Gander last month. Pentagon investigators said that, contrary to Army regulations, medical and dental records of many of the men were on the same plane and thus lost when its fuel tanks exploded. An Army spokesman said a mass burial of unidentified remains may be necessary.

Threats or Blessings?



A demonstration in Tripoli, Libya, against the United States and Israel.

Qaddafi Is Making the Most of the Spotlight

By JUDITH MILLER

TRIPOLI, Libya — Like a lightweight using jujitsu principles to outmaneuver a bigger, stronger adversary, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi appeared last week to be making American sanctions and threats of military reprisals work for him. "The challenge was very useful," the Libyan leader said at a news conference.

Arab and Western diplomats here tended to agree with him. Libya initially feared an American military strike when the United States and Israel accused it of involvement in the attacks by Palestinian terrorists at the Rome and Vienna airports Dec. 27. But by week's end, the talk of military reprisals receded, although President Reagan said the United States "should be ready for any contingency." The score sheet seemed, for the moment, favorable to Libya and its unpredictable ruler.

Diplomats and other Libya watchers pointed to benefits Colonel Qaddafi had obtained. The threats strengthened his hand internally by distracting his opponents. They dramatically reduced Libya's isolation in the Arab camp, forcing even longtime foes to rally around a beleaguered "brother." They assuaged strained relations between Tripoli and Moscow. And they created difficulties for the United States in its dealings with European allies.

"Qaddafi has had a victory at a very low cost," a Western diplomat said. "He has declared war on a superpower, dared to threaten to send suicide squads into the streets of Washington. This has helped him enormously at home and boosted his standing in the Arab world. It has been a beautiful bluff."

"It has been a formidable victory for a man whom Americans have called mad," an Arab diplomat agreed. "He is not mad. Qaddafi knows how to play with the U.S. This incident shows he has followed his vision and dreams in quite a coherent way."

Recent unrest and discontent in Libya, stirred by drastic shortages of food and basic commodities, seemed all but forgotten last week as Libyans, predictably, supported their leader. And although only a few months ago, Libya was barely on speaking terms with most of its neighbors, the other Arabs have rushed to his aid. Egypt, which has frequently accused Libya of sponsoring terrorist operations against it, warned last week that American military action would mean the end of the Jordanian-Egyptian peace initiative nurtured by Washington. Tunisia, which had been infuriated by Libya's expulsion this year of thousands of its workers, agreed to serve as host for a meeting of Arab League foreign ministers later this month to discuss the threat to Libya.

Syria and Iran vowed to help defend Libya if it should be attacked, and usually cautious Persian Gulf countries such as Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates also offered verbal support. Even Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who has been totally at odds with Mr. Qaddafi, supported Libya despite what Mr. Arafat described as "our differences." Expressions of solidarity also came from the Islamic Conference Organization of 45 countries, which includes United States allies and aid recipients such as Pakistan and Turkey. Last week, in Fez, Morocco, the organization said the "imperialist-Zionist threat" to Libya was a threat to all Moslem countries.

Libya's relations with the Soviet Union have also been boosted by the clash with Washington. Diplomats said Colonel Qaddafi's visit to Moscow in October had not gone well. The Colonel, who has reportedly spent \$5 billion on Russian weapons over the years, was annoyed that Moscow seemed reluctant to provide its most advanced equipment. More than a week passed after the visit, the official said, before the two countries exchanged "solidarity" messages.

But the massing of Egyptian troops on Libya's border late last year and rising tensions after the hijacking of an Egyptian jet to Malta prompted the Soviet Union to dispatch SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles with Soviet trainers. This brought the number of Russians in Libya to more than 4,000, diplomats estimated. Colonel Qaddafi said in an interview last week that the missiles were now operational; Western officials believe that they will be within a month. Last week, the Soviet Union issued a strong statement of support for Libya.

Finally, Colonel Qaddafi worked last week to exploit differences between the United States and its European allies. Receiving seven ambassadors of West European countries, he thanked them for refusing to support American economic sanctions. American and West European interests in Libya are different, he said, with 40,000 West Europeans and 230 European companies working on \$13 billion of Libyan contracts. In the next five years, he added, Libya plans to spend \$36 billion more. "These figures have significance in economies like ours," a West European diplomat acknowledged. Officially, Europeans explained their position as opposition in principle to sanctions that, they insist, do not work and to lack of proof of Libyan involvement in the two airport massacres.

"It seems ironic, doesn't it?" a diplomat observed. "Qaddafi has been able to shift the political ground totally. No one remembers any longer where this all began," he said. "The 19 dead and 110 wounded at European airports have been all but forgotten in the stampede to defend poor Libya from superpower bullying."

Verbatim: A Slap from the Top

"We obey no discipline, no rule, follow no principle of public morality, display no sense of social awareness, show no concern for the public weal. Corruption is not only tolerated but even regarded as the hallmark of our leadership."

Rajiv Gandhi

the Prime Minister of India, admonishing members of his Congress Party.

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Hanoi Hopes for Diplomatic Recognition

Vietnam Has Trouble Affording Its Image

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

HANOI, Vietnam — "You Americans have given the world a false impression of Vietnam," a European with long experience in Indochina said last week, just before Hanoi welcomed the highest-level United States delegation to visit Vietnam since the war ended. "These people are not giants."

The theme is repeated by diplomats, aid officials, scholars and the few business representatives who somehow manage to trade with Vietnam. The country they describe is not the vanquisher of two large Western armies or the conqueror of Pol Pot. It is a very poor, chronically undernourished, badly administered nation riven by ministerial rivalries in the capital and gestures of defiance in the provinces, whose authorities hew to the old Vietnamese adage that "the power of the emperor stops at the village gate."

Foreigners from East and West not party to the affair say they are fascinated if not mystified by the emotional links that persist between the Vietnamese and Americans. For the Vietnamese, the focus on the United States, where friends and family of many live, is constant. To Americans, Vietnam might be just another poor third world country clamoring for attention — except for the war, and those who never came back.

In American perceptions, Hanoi remains a threat to all of Southeast Asia because of its overthrow seven years ago of Pol Pot's Government in Cambodia and its domination of Laos, which have angered and frightened Vietnam's other neighbors. The Reagan Administration has said it will not recognize Hanoi until Vietnamese troops leave Cambodia.

Yet the Vietnamese need all that American diplomatic recognition can offer. They hope for, among other things, the relaxation of a Western and Japanese aid embargo, a way out of increasingly unproductive economic dependence on Moscow and help in maneuvering China into a Cambodian settlement. For aid, at least, time is short — the average weight of a Vietnamese citizen is dropping at the rate of a pound or two a year, international health officials say, and the country is nearly bereft of medicines except for supplies sent by relatives abroad. Last week, Vietnamese officials were acknowledging that a decade after ending the country under socialism, Hanoi has been unable to suppress the private traders who still manipulate the vital rice market.

Mutual Benefit

But, out of pride and ideological orthodoxy, Vietnamese leaders almost always refer to the country as "reconstructing" rather than "developing." And they insist that diplomatic relations with Washington should be "of mutual benefit."

Foreigners who live in Hanoi say that, while the Vietnamese people may be secretive or uncommunicative, they are neither inherently militaristic nor highly disciplined, as they have been portrayed in the West — except in the army. The remarkable self-sacrifice that sustained a 30-year fight for independence, diplomats and some Vietnamese civilians suggest, is not translating easily into dying for Cambodians in a new war categorized here as "implementing an international obligation."

On their side of the farmhouse mirror, many Vietnamese cling to some stereotypical pictures of Americans. "Americans are stingy and selfish; they do not pay attention to the sufferings of other people," Hong Ha, the editor of the Communist party newspaper and a member of the party's central committee, said last week. His remark, which he said reflected letters the newspaper received from readers, referred to the well-publicized American failure to offer aid to Vietnam last fall after tropical storms left crops ruined and hundreds of thousands of people homeless.

The Vietnamese also resent Washington's insistence that their country account for nearly 1,800 missing American servicemen, or M.I.A.'s, a small fraction of the number of Vietnamese still unaccounted for in their own land.

Mr. Ha gave this illustration: "One of our readers sent us a letter asking: The Americans staged a war



A reminder of war in Da Nang, Vietnam.

Ten Years of Talk on Missing Americans

Vietnamese and American officials have met sporadically over the last 10 years, with a long hiatus after Vietnam's incursion into Cambodia, to discuss the fate of missing Americans and other obstacles to establishing normal relations. Here are some of the major meetings.

November 1976

United States and Vietnamese diplomats meet in Paris in the first formal talks since the war; no progress is reported, and three days later the United States vetoes Vietnam's United Nations membership application.

March 1977

President Carter sends a delegation to Hanoi; Vietnam turns over the remains of 12 American pilots and proposes a new round of talks.

May-June 1977

A United States delegation holds more

talks with the Vietnamese in Paris about normalization of relations.

August 1978

A delegation led by Senator Edward M. Kennedy discusses humanitarian issues with officials in Hanoi, then leaves with 29 Vietnamese, the first to be reunited with American husbands and fathers.

July 1985

A United States-sponsored research group spends three days in Hanoi, Vietnam promises to return remains of 26 American servicemen.

August 1985

A meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam proposes a two-year timetable for resolving the fate of missing Americans.

November 1985

A United States military delegation spends 13 days with a Vietnamese team excavating a site where a B-52 crashed in 1972.

Woodfin Camp, Wally McNamee

that caused a lot of difficulties for our country. Why should we let them come to Vietnam to look for the wreckage of their planes when they have not fulfilled their responsibilities to the Vietnamese people?"

War Reparations

The leader was referring to war reparations, a hope being raised again in official circles as talks between Hanoi and Washington are making progress.

Sensing movement, Vietnamese leaders seem to be adding for immediate consideration elements not previously on the agenda.

During two days of talks last week, the Vietnamese offered to start the clock on a two-year deadline for resolving the issue of Americans missing in action and to investigate reports that the remains of 50 Americans

have been found in the countryside. Technical discussions will be conducted in late February.

For itself, Vietnam now wants an office in Washington or another American city such as Philadelphia, according to some reports. While the Vietnamese have suggested an American technical office in Hanoi, which would coordinate searches for the wreckage of American planes, United States officials have been reluctant because such an office might be portrayed by Hanoi as a diplomatic presence. Vietnam's new demand strikes some diplomats here as a something of a justification for United States apprehension.

"One of the good things about Vietnam," a European said, "is that you can always be frank. So I asked my Vietnamese friends: How many M.I.A.'s do you have in America that you should have an office there?"

U.S. Considers Aid for Rebels

Angola's Feelings Don't Get in the Way of Profits

By JAMES BROOKE

LUANDA, Angola — On one hand, American banks and oil companies provide the cash essential to the survival of this country's Marxist Government. On the other, the White House, backed by a growing number of American conservatives, is reportedly planning to give \$15 million to the South African-backed guerrillas fighting to overthrow the same regime.

Perhaps predictably, one hand sometimes does not seem to know what the other is doing, as when Wynand Petrus du Toit, a South African captain, recently tried to blow up a 1.8 million-barrel oil tank farm operated by the Chevron Corporation in Angola. "We wanted to change the course of the war," said the commando, who was captured carrying leaflets in which the rebels took responsibility for the attempted attack.

Ten years after independence, Angola has no diplomatic ties with the United States, although an American delegation headed by Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, met with President Eduardo dos Santos last week. Commerce is another matter. "We always try to make a separation between trade relations and political relations," said Paulino Pinto Joao, director of the Department of Information and Propaganda of Angola's ruling Marxist party.

In fact, trade between the United States and Angola rose from \$856 million in 1982 to \$1.1 billion in 1984. The United States is Angola's largest trading partner; Angola is United States' third-largest partner in sub-Saharan Africa, after Nigeria and South Africa. Last year,

Cabinda Gulf Company, a subsidiary of Chevron Corporation, in partnership with Sonangol, Angola's state oil company, produced about 70 percent of Angola's oil, and about 60 percent of that went to the United States. Texaco also produces oil in Angola in conjunction with Sonangol, and Conoco is negotiating drilling rights.

Oil provides Angola with 90 percent of its export revenues. American commercial banks — principally Chase Manhattan, Bankers Trust, Citibank, Morgan Guaranty and Manufacturers Hanover — have lent Sonangol more than \$200 million. The Export-Import Bank, a Federal agency that makes or guarantees loans to encourage foreigners to trade with the United States, has lent an additional \$250 million.

The Cuban Presence

But all this has not blunted the political impact of 30,000 Cuban troops who were airlifted to Angola at the time of independence in November 1975, when they helped a Marxist group defeat two other guerrilla armies in a struggle for power. They are still here 10 years later, ostensibly to ward off South African attacks that have been constant ever since. Last week, three South African battalions were deep inside Angola, President dos Santos said. The South Africans also provide a rear-guard defense against the anti-Government rebels of Jonas Savimbi's Union for the Total Independence of Angola, Unita. For three years, the United States has brokered negotiations between the Angolans and the South Af-

The New York Times/James Brooke
Wynand Petrus du Toit

ricans. Both sides have accepted the principle of a Cuban withdrawal in return for the independence of neighboring Namibia, which is occupied by South Africa. But mistrust seems to have prevented them from concluding an agreement.

Anti-Americanism

"We cannot sign our political suicide," one Angolan official said of a Cuban withdrawal. "How can we trust the South Africans? They are a few hours away from Angola, while Cuba is at the other side of the world." Without a negotiated agreement, political pressure has grown in Washington to aid Mr. Savimbi. Last summer, Congress repealed a nine-year-old ban on American aid to rebels in Angola, a move that triggered an outburst of anti-Americanism here.

At a Government-orchestrated rally, for example, protesters carried a banner showing a black fist wringing President Reagan's neck. The letters of the President's name were spelled out in a series of epithets, starting with "R" for "Reactionary" and ending with "N" for "Nazista."

And then there was a report last month at a party congress charging that the United States collaborated with South Africa, adding that the Congressional repeal of aid restrictions "freed the bloody hands of the C.I.A. to continue their long list of crimes against the heroic Angolan People."

How much of the rhetoric is for domestic consumption is unclear. In November, the Angolans resumed talks with American negotiators. But diplomats are skeptical that the Angolans will bend before an American threat to aid Unita.

As one officer in Angola's army recently put it, "We believe the United States has been giving aid to Unita all along."

Keeping Them Guessing

Life After Pinochet May Not Begin For a While

By LYDIA CHAVEZ

SANTIAGO, Chile — Politicians here often talk enthusiastically about life after President Augusto Pinochet. It is much more pleasant, after all, than contemplating their inability to nudge him closer to the negotiating table, much less unseat him.

Why has Mr. Pinochet been so successful in keeping the opposition at bay despite his apparent lack of popular support? The difficulties of battling a dictator are obvious and substantial. But beyond fear, political leaders here said his Chilean rivals are sometimes their own worst enemies.

No leader with the stature of Winnie Mandela in South Africa has emerged who can galvanize the masses. The moderate opposition has few organizers or supporters in the slums where anti-Government sentiment is strongest. Moreover, the country's parliamentary tradition of debate and consensus prevents a quick response to Mr. Pinochet's affronts.

Tainted by the Past

Although not acknowledged publicly, there is also an acceptance by the opposition of Mr. Pinochet's timetable for beginning the transition to democracy in 1989. The Constitution calls for the four-man junta to nominate a candidate at that time who will then be approved or rejected by popular vote. "It is much easier to think that in 1989 there will be a plebiscite and Pinochet will lose," said Sergio Bitar, a leader of the Socialist Party. "That is a real danger and trap for us."

There seem to be several reasons why a popular opposition leader has failed to emerge. It is only in the last three years that many have returned from exile and the Government has permitted some political activity. Another explanation, rarely talked about openly, is the lack of a challenger untainted by the past. Many older leaders supported the 1973 coup against the Marxist president, Salvador Allende. Although 50 percent or more of the country were said to have agreed with them about the coup, the leaders' concession to a military takeover nevertheless calls into question their commitment to democracy.

"We were willing to give the Government to the military because we thought they would only stay a few years and then give it back," an opposition politician said. Said another: "Pinochet has the inner conviction that he is saving Chile from Communism; the opposition doesn't have the same inner conviction to democracy."

As for those who opposed the coup, most either are viewed as too radical to appeal to the middle class or come from parties that are too small. And the lack of legal political activity locally, analysts said, has effectively prevented the development of younger leaders from larger parties. Even older political figures such as Gabriel Valdes, the president of the Christian Democrats, who lived abroad for nearly a decade before returning to Chile, have little experience in talking to crowds and getting votes.

Sergio Molina, a Christian Democrat and one of the authors of the national accord, a document outlining a return to democracy that was supported by 11 opposition groups, said cross-party rivalries also contribute to the opposition's plight.

"When someone starts to emerge," he said, "everybody puts up their defenses."

Not Following Through

In the last year, the opposition has been promising a series of protests. But despite countless meetings, the plans have been bogged down by intramural differences. "At the crucial point, we waver," said Jorge Schaulsohn, a member of the moderate Radical Party.

"Pinochet knows what he wants, and he is willing to die for it."

The "meeting syndrome," as one politician called it, has affected action on almost every issue. While a broad group of political parties signed the national accord, there was no agreement on whether to use it as a lever to gain talks with Mr. Pinochet. Similarly, a nationwide signature campaign for the document was nixed in a debate on its merits.

"Basically, there wasn't a common strategy on how to use the accord," said Andres Allamand, the leader of the National Union, one of the conservative groups that signed the document. "We lost 90 days deciding what to do."

Beyond that, Mr. Pinochet has been a master at manipulating the opposition. One political leader pointed out that he merely has to make a slight overture to the conservatives to cancel their participation in anti-Government activity.

He is also good at keeping his rivals guessing. Last week, for example, local newspapers published a report in which Mr. Pinochet said his term would end in 1989. That, predicted one political leader, would be enough to lead the opposition into a debate over whether he meant that he would not run in 1989 or merely that his first term would end then.



President Augusto Pinochet

Sygma/Carlos Corrales

The Nation

The 1987 Budget Just May Have A Familiar Ring

President Reagan gave a preview in his radio address yesterday of how he would shape the Federal balance sheet for the 1987 fiscal year so as to meet the \$144 billion deficit ceiling mandated by the new budget-balancing law. Listeners familiar with the Administration's previous performance were hardly surprised.

In the budget request the White House will send to Congress Feb. 3, Mr. Reagan said, he will insist upon a strong defense and resist tax increases. The new law, which sets red-ink targets that decline to zero by 1991, will be met, he said, "by submitting budgets which eliminate Government inefficiency and curtail needless expenses like vast amounts for Amtrak and subsidies for those who don't need them."

Administration officials said more than one-third of the \$30 billion in savings that will be needed to bring the deficit in line would come in renewed proposals to eliminate programs such as Amtrak — an approach sharply contested and in the main defeated by Congress in the past.

A little less than one-quarter of the savings would come through the sale of Federal assets. Plans to put on the block hydroelectric plants that provide power to millions in the West and South were reported earlier. Added to the discussion last week was privatizing part of the Federal debt by selling to investors some of the Government's \$245 billion loan portfolio.

Constitutional Issues

The constitutionality of the budget-balancing law was subject to nearly three hours of debate before a special panel of three Federal judges in Washington last week.

Twelve members of Congress led by Representative Mike Synar, Democrat of Oklahoma, have filed suit attacking it, as has the National Treasury Employees Union. The challengers say the law violates the separation of powers by delegating to unelected officials, primarily the Comptroller General, the authority to calculate and make spending cuts if Congress and the President cannot meet the deficit targets.

Block Is Leaving To Mixed Reviews

Few members of the Cabinet have had a longer row to hoe than John R. Block. Though the Federal Government has spent record sums on the nation's farms during his tour as Secretary of Agriculture, much of rural America has bogged down in the hardest times since the 1930's.

Last week, after five years as the nation's principal farm-policy administrator, Mr. Block announced that he would step down next month. President Reagan praised him, saying: "Yours has been a challenging assignment, and you've handled it with great distinction."

Critics, farm-state Democrats chief among them, said the secretary would not be missed. "I do not think he had a very good grasp of what is needed for American agriculture," said Senator John Melcher, a Montana Democrat on the Agriculture Committee, "and I think American agriculture has taken a nose-dive while he's been secretary."

There is considerable disagreement among less partisan analysts over the extent to which Washington can be fairly blamed, but in recent years not much has gone right for the American farmer. Production costs have soared; profits have plummeted; overseas markets have dwindled because of the high value of the American dollar and the increasing ability of foreign nations to feed themselves. Mr. Block, who owns a hog farm in Illinois, has by no means been immune himself. Last year he said his debts totaled in the millions.

White House aides said Richard



The New York Times/Joe R. Lopez
Agriculture Secretary John R. Block announcing plans to leave office.

Lyng, a former Deputy Secretary of Agriculture, was a leading contender to replace Mr. Block.

Carlin Goes Quickly

Barely 12 months into his term as Postmaster General, Paul N. Carlin was fired last week by the Postal Service's Board of Governors. Board members complained that he had, among other things, failed to reduce a bloated staff and to install enough high-speed mail-sorting equipment to increase efficiency.

In recent years, the nine-member board, once frequently criticized for its lack of independence and interest in forcing the \$30 billion quasi-private service to make ends meet, has been increasingly dominated by bottom-line-oriented business executives. And at a news conference, John R. McKean, the chairman, said a search for a successor to Mr. Carlin, a veteran employee of the service, had begun three months ago. Until it is complete, the job will be filled by an outsider, Albert V. Casey, who retired as president of American Airlines in February.

Fed Stands Firm; The Dow Plunges

The few who doubt that Paul A. Volcker is his own man became fewer last week when the Federal Reserve Board chairman, despite uncommonly strong White House opposition, won a vote among his members to limit the use of "junk bonds."

That demonstration of the strength of Mr. Volcker's convictions, combined with a report that the unemployment rate declined in December to its lowest point in more than five years, persuaded traders that the chairman will not yield to the Administration and lower interest rates to stimulate the economy. And that sent the Dow Jones industrial average into a 39.10-point dive, the worst it has ever suffered in a single day.

Which is not to say that the restriction on junk bonds, while a relatively narrow financial matter, might not in itself have affected the stock market's mood. Such bonds are a popular financing device in many mergers, and a merger wave has helped propel Wall Street to its present highs, though the popularity of the bonds, which are below investment grade, has worried business.

Wednesday's vote of the Fed board was its second on junk bonds. Last month, after a 3-to-2 decision requiring the so-called paper corporations that often engage in hostile takeovers to put up at least half the cost of a merger in cash or other assets, the Administration, which is opposed in principle to regulation, took the rare step of submitting a 43-page objection from four Federal agencies, the Office of Management and Budget and the President's Council of Economic Advisers. That prompted the Fed's open hearing Wednesday at which Mr. Volcker prevailed, again 3 to 2.

As for the stock market, the Great Depression began when the Dow, then at nearly 300, lost 12.8 percent of its value in a single session in October 1929. A comparable drop last Wednesday, when the Dow was over 1,565, would have resulted in a loss of 200 points. The 39.10 points came to only 2.5 percent. But the comparisons were inevitable, as were reassurances from the White House and elsewhere that the market would rise again. By week's end, the activity had evened off; the Dow closed the week at 1513.53, down 35.67 points for the five days.

Competition for The Trident Sub?

The Navy, increasingly alert to the possibilities for competition among its weapons producers, has taken a step that threatens the General Dynamics Corporation's exclusive domain over the Trident nuclear missile submarine.

Navy officials acknowledged last week that they had offered a Trident inspection and repair contract to Newport News Shipbuilding, the only likely competitor for General Dynamics, and would like to invite Newport News to compete for a production contract. "It's a first step toward competition," said Rear Adm. Stuart F. Platt, the Navy's Competition Advocate General. "The work would provide Newport News the experience so they could submit credible bids on construction."

Newport News will conduct a "shakedown" inspection of the Nevada, the newest Trident, when it returns from sea trials late this year. It will be the first time a civilian contractor other than the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics has worked on a Trident. General Dynamics had tried to convince the Navy that competition would not make sense. Stanley C. Pace, the corporation's new chief executive, told a Presidential commission on Pentagon management last month that savings from competitive bidding would be exceeded by retooling and training expenses at another production plant.

Caroline Rand Herron and Michael Wright

Developers Have Plans for Great Northern Mountain



The New York Times/Andrew H. Malcolm
Plans to build a ski resort on Great Northern Mountain in the Kootenai National Forest in northwestern Montana have sparked a controversy that extends to Washington.

When Trees Fall in These Forests, They Are Heard

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM

LIBBY, Mont. — The green serenity of the scenes belies the ferocity of the faraway battles fought over them. The country's vast national forests have become the focus for numerous political and economic struggles that will decide their fate and shape.

As the opportunities for the development of recreational facilities and the supply of resources dwindle elsewhere, the pressures build to put the national forests to work. The Reagan Administration has pushed on a number of levels for greater multiple uses of the forests — lumber production, recreation and oil and gas exploration. The stubborn stagnation of many small-town economies near the forests adds further pressure for development.

Both proponents of development and environmentalists are incensed. As one logger here put

it, "Those city people crying about cutting down the trees out West have already got jobs." And the geographic and political landscape leaves little room for compromise. "You can't cut down half a tree," said one Government spokesman. Smack in the middle is the United States Forest Service, an arm of the Department of Agriculture charged with balancing the multiple demands on 191 million acres of national forests.

In some places the dispute centers on whether to harvest towering virgin timber, which produces considerable emotional attachment but less new lumber each year than more vigorous new growth. In other areas the dispute focuses on the construction of dirt roads that can aid future harvests, but can threaten wildlife and spoil scenery, or on the advantages of clear-cutting versus selective logging.

In northern Washington state and northwestern Montana, the fight centers on planned ski resorts. "We always have several of these pro-

posals in the works," said Jay Humphreys, a Forest Service spokesman. "The ski resorts attract the most attention because they involve bringing a large segment of recreationists into an area unfamiliar with those kinds of crowds. It sets up two sides immediately."

The controversy in this region concerns a proposed resort in the Kootenai National Forest, a stand of 2.3 million acres with many trees that were seedlings when the Pilgrims arrived. The fight involves less than 600 acres on Great Northern Mountain, 20 miles southwest of town, where a group of investors wants to build a \$42 million ski resort with shops, restaurants, condominiums and a hotel. They say the development will produce 200 full-time and 200 part-time jobs.

Some of Libby's 3,000 residents fear a resort would upset the rural atmosphere and push prices higher. Others believe it could revitalize the town. Petitions have circulated. Feelings run high. Now politicians in Washington are involved.

"It'd be a real shot in the arm around here," said Lawrence H. Sverdrup, the investors' local attorney. He says he sees irony in the fact that a small group of executives who want to take a private initiative at their own risk are forced to combat a national Administration that has championed self-help economic projects.

James F. Rathbun, the Kootenai's supervisor, opposes the plan on a different ground. "Quite simply, Great Northern is not suitable for a ski resort."

Much of the site here, as in Aspen and Vail, is Federal land, so the project would require a sale or swap of Federal property or, more likely, a permit that is, in effect, a lease for the developer. There are a host of legal, environmental and financial requirements and studies, each with its own decision-making and appeals process.

In many cases, such as the Early Winters Ski Resort site in the Okanogan National Forest, near Winthrop, Wash., the Forest Service is in the middle. There the service recently gave developers approval to proceed with planning, though they will have to meet more conditions.

The Great Northern project has not gotten that far. After studying the investors' initial proposals and analyses of snowfall, transportation and the potential market, Mr. Rathbun, citing different figures and interpretations, refused 18 months ago to allow the required environmental impact study.

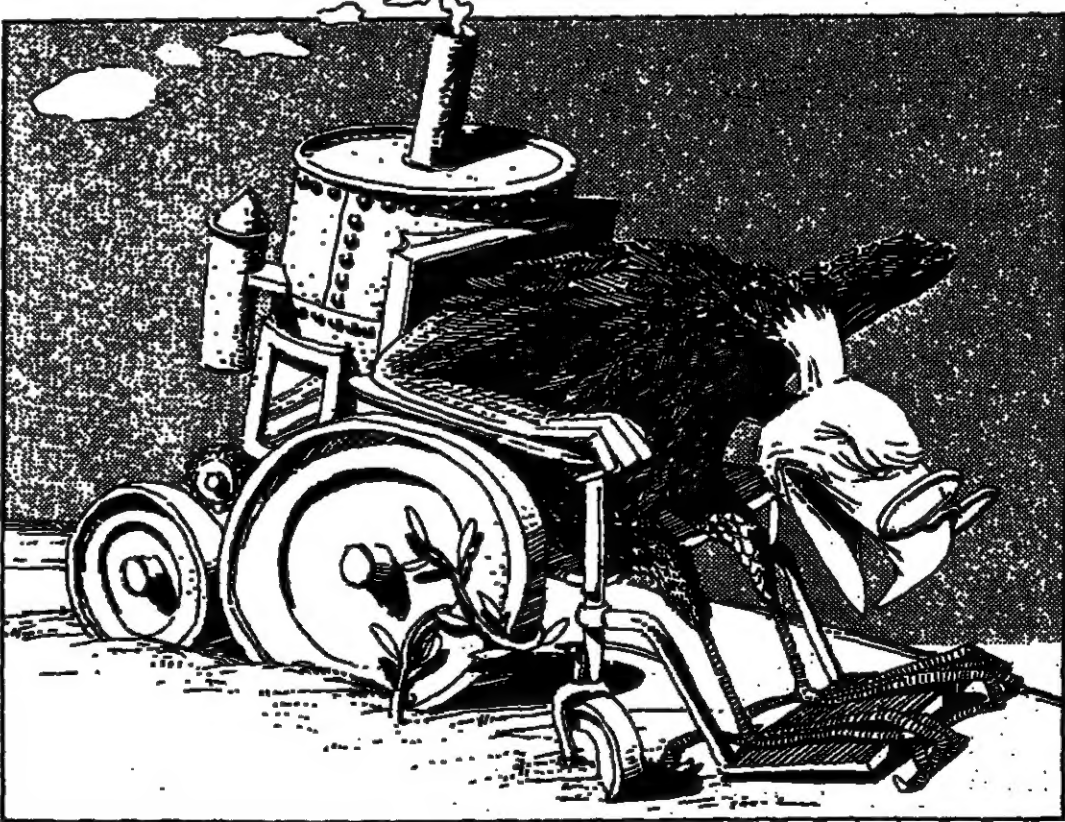
That decision was appealed, upheld and appealed again to R. Max Peterson, chief of the Forest Service in Washington. While no hope was held out for eventual approval, he allowed the investors to proceed with an environmental study at their own expense. Mr. Rathbun informed his neighbor Mr. Sverdrup that the Forest Service would bill the investors for the cost of studying their study. The price was estimated at \$91,000 or more.

"From our perspective," said Mr. Humphreys, "this project is not feasible enough to spend any taxpayers' money. But if they produce new data that show it does have a chance for economic success, then we'd re-examine the impact on the area's other resources, including the bears. Maybe the delicate balance of advantages and disadvantages would change then."

Mr. Sverdrup said his group could not afford to gamble such a sum. He is seeking help from Montana's congressmen, 2,621 miles southeast of the snowy forest on Great Northern's mountainside. "It's all political at this point," he said.

The Administration Takes Aim at a Long-Established Agency

Is the I.C.C. at the End of the Road?



James R. Jones

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

WASHINGTON — Some say it would be a mercy killing, the death of a 98-year-old invalid with little reason to live. Others call it a betrayal of a trust, the brutal slaying of a defenseless victim. There are so far only the vaguest plans for disposing of the few mortal remains.

The Reagan Administration is planning to call, in its budget proposal for the 1987 fiscal year, for the abolition of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The proposal comes after trucking, railroad and bus deregulation have left the I.C.C., celebrated as the grandfather of all Federal regulatory agencies, only vestigial authority.

The general plan would give the Transportation Department most of the agency's remaining powers, which concern approval of trucking, railroad and bus rates; the granting of operating authority and routes to be served; approval of abandonment procedures and accounting systems, and setting guidelines for household moving companies. Antitrust initiatives would be given to the Justice Department.

As for the commission's 923 employees, half the number it had in 1981, when the 1980 Motor Carrier Act and 1980 Staggers Rail Act took effect, or its standby budget of \$48 million for the 1986 fiscal year, disposition is uncertain.

The dispute over the commission's fate mirrors arguments about regulation and deregulation generally. Created to help farmers combat the growing power of the railroads, the agency was directed to promote "safe, adequate, economical and efficient service" in surface transportation. But it long has been criticized as a captive of the industries it was intended to regulate.

"It was not an unalloyed force for good, nor did it protect the people it was meant to protect," said Herbert Kaufman, a recently retired fellow at the Brookings Institution. "In the end, the railroads loved it and the truckers loved it," he said, adding: "Everything is now in such a mess that you might just as well dismantle it, and let the market take care of itself."

Mr. Kaufman goes farther than some of the Administration's deregulators would.

For instance, Heather J. Gradison, who moved from vice chairman to chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission this month, is a strong supporter of deregulation, and favors the steps that have been taken so far. But she believes a useful role is left for the agency overseeing the remaining regulations.

Indeed, the seeking of permanent legislation to abolish the commission marks a departure from the Administration's previous deregulatory efforts. Mr. Reagan vowed during his first Presidential campaign to "get the Government off the

backs of the people." In deregulation, the White House's major moves have consisted of reducing the size and budgets of the regulatory agencies, eliminating and delaying proposed regulations and making the Office of Management and Budget a regulatory super-coordinator.

But Mr. Reagan's conservative supporters feared that what was achieved by executive directives could be reversed by subsequent administrations. They pressed for more permanent, legislative results of the kind that had been achieved in the Carter Administration, when deregulation was embraced on the one hand by Senator Edward M. Kennedy as a victory for consumerism and on the other by Mr. Reagan as a boon to the free enterprise system. Regulatory change was hailed as a strategy to combat double-digit inflation, amid charges that regulation added billions of dollars to the cost of products, and measures were enacted deregulating banking, airlines, trucking and railroads.

There were a few naysayers, who acknowledged abuses of the regulatory process but warned against throwing the baby out with the bath water. Senators Mark Andrews, Republican of North Dakota, and Albert Gore Jr., Democrat of Tennessee, and Representative Charles E. Schumer, Democrat of New York, have contended that regulation of banking, transportation and communications is essential to all other industries' prosperity.

Others, such as Fred Thayer, professor of public and international affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, argued that regulation was especially needed in a highly industrialized society, and linked it to safety. "In the economically deregulated industries, intensive competition promotes wholesale violation of the rules because people feel compelled to cheat," he says.

Some members of Congress say that trucking and rail deregulation argues for the preservation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. According to Representative James Florio, a New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the transportation subcommittee of the Energy and Commerce Committee: "Deregulation works when a residual watchdog, with interest and expertise, is available to see that there are no abuses."

Mr. Florio, who is planning hearings in February to determine whether more stringent regulation would be required with the demise of the I.C.C., continues: "If anything, the argument could be made that the I.C.C. has been modest in its aspirations, as far as fulfilling its watchdog role. Rather than strengthen this watchdog role, they want to get rid of it."

But Senator Bob Packwood, the Oregon Republican who is chairman of the Finance Committee and author of the trucking and railroad deregulation bills, urges that the commission be abolished as soon as possible. The one lingering area of concern, he said, was for companies dependent upon a single rail line to transport merchandise. But he said that their interests would be protected by the Department of Transportation. "With rail and truck deregulation," he added, "this is where we've been moving."

Living With Wall Street's Rout

The arbitrageurs turned last week's stock slide into a free fall that hurt the little guys — and some big ones, too.

By ANISE C. WALLACE

THE record-setting free fall in stock prices last Wednesday rudely reminded individual and institutional investors of the violent volatility inherent in stock index futures programs. "It's like being caught in the Bermuda Triangle," said Harvey P. Eisen, president of New York's Integrated Asset Management. And while program trading may be an unwelcome intruder in the stock market, experts grudgingly acknowledge that the strategy has become a fact of market life. It may even have helped to push stocks higher last autumn.

Individual investors, in particular, have been terrified by such program-induced volatility, as well as by the huge swings in the prices of individual issues when Wall Street arbitrageurs zero in on merger-related stocks like GAF and Pennzoil. These two developments have been blamed for driving individual investors into professionally managed mutual funds, which have attracted record amounts. Many market pros suggest mutual funds may be one of the safest ways for individuals to play the stock market.

More than ever, professionals say, individual investors are hostages of a market dominated by institutions, arbitrageurs and skilled investors using the sophisticated computer programs. "Unless you're going to make it a dominant hobby or a big part of your life, you need a professional," said Byron R. Wien, investment strategist for domestic stocks at Morgan Stanley & Company.

And despite the frightening price swings, the widespread opinion is that investors should not abandon the stock market. A correction of 5 to 10 percent from the Dow Jones industrial average's high of 1,585.71 is being predicted by many strategists. But for the longer term, investors should stick with stocks, they say, because a slow-growing economy, low inflation and lower interest rates add up to a continuing bull market over the next few years. Many professionals continue to believe that this environment, similar to that of the 1920's and 1950's, will propel the Dow well above 2,000.

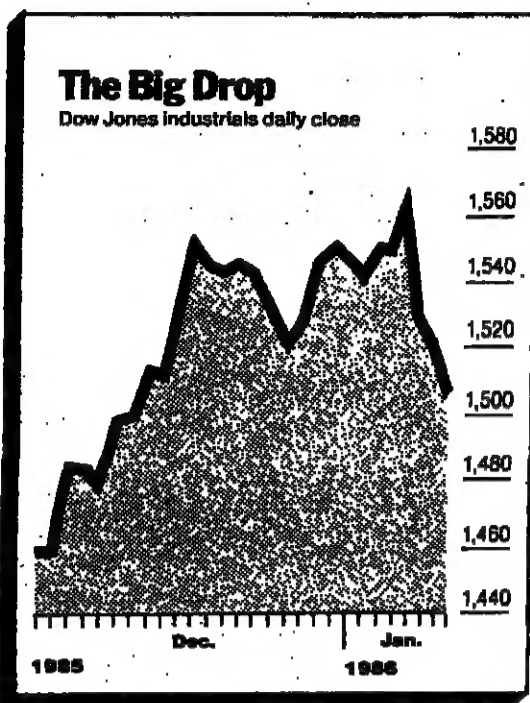
Wednesday's descent was sparked when investors smelled weakness in the bond market, and decided that interest rates were going to reverse their recent decline. This caused a decline in stock prices. That spilled over into the stock index futures market, where the premium between a futures contract on the Standard & Poor's 500 index and the underlying securities narrowed dramatically in only 45 minutes. At that point, program traders found it cheaper to buy futures contracts instead of the underlying securities.

So, at this trigger point, dozens of institutional

sell programs were set off — drastically accelerating the stock slide. Players in the program trading arena — index funds, some of Wall Street's largest brokerage firms and corporate cash managers — indiscriminately dumped the large blue-chip stocks in order to buy futures contracts. Unlike regular investors, such program traders are not concerned with the price they receive when they sell a stock; their profit has already been achieved, and they want to close out the old arbitrage position and establish a new one.

When this happens, I.B.M., for instance, can fall 2, 4 or 6 points, as it did on Wednesday, without any change in the company's prospects. But because these investors are not sensitive to the price they receive, none of the sellers step aside, and ordinary buyers do not step into the chaotic activity — as in a normal market.

Wholesale dumping occurs, specialists on the floor of the exchange are required to continue mak-



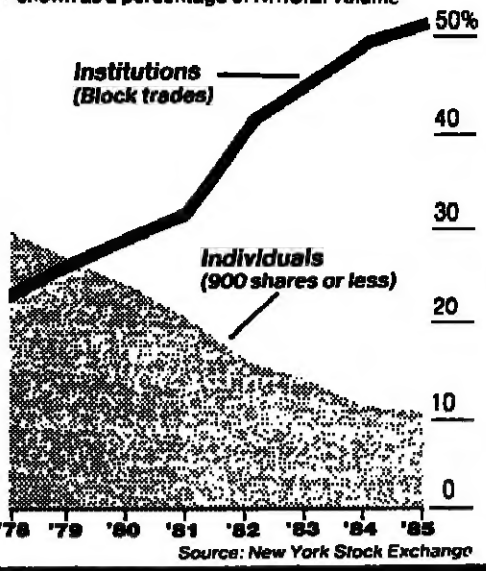
ing a market and a vacuum develops, causing stocks to fall even further. "The stock market is becoming much more like the commodities market," said Edward A. Greene, founder of E. G. Capital Management, an investment firm in Stamford, Conn., who uses options and futures for corporate accounts.

Individuals were not the only investors who were bewildered and shocked on Wednesday. When program trades hit the market, the so-called sophisticated institutional investors also became "guppies in a shark tank," said one professional. Many of the institutional investors reported that they were blown to the sidelines that day. Mr. Eisen, for example, said his firm's traders started the day trying to sell 130,000 shares of one stock, but they were able to unload only 5,000 shares before the program selling decked the market.

Not surprisingly, some institutional investors are

The Rise of Institutions

Block trading (10,000 shares or more) as a proxy for institutional stock trading vs. trades of 900 shares, representing individuals' trading; both shown as a percentage of N.Y.S.E. volume



angry and frustrated by this phenomenon. Many of the professionals learned the ground rules of investing in the 1960's and 1970's, before the proliferation of the new instruments and strategies. Now, all of a sudden, they find themselves in a new ball game. "It creates a pattern of market action which is different from what many of us are accustomed to," said Eldon C. Mayer, president of Lynch & Mayer Inc., a New York investment management firm. "It makes it extremely difficult" to buy and sell positions in stocks when this happens, he said.

While few institutional investors acknowledge they are in favor of program trading, some say they are trying to view it as an opportunity. Susan M. Byrne, founder of New York's Westwood Management Corporation, who manages more than \$300 million, suggests that these programs, while scary, provide additional liquidity. "As my son says, 'we have to develop a better attitude,'" she said.

And E. G. Capital's Mr. Greene notes that investors scream about program trades when the selling wave knocks down prices, but he and others point out that program buying also provided an artificial stimulus to prices during the recent rally. "The market has dramatically benefited over the last two months from computer program trading on the buy side," he said.

Professionals caution that the market will continue to experience wild days such as last Wednesday. In fact, Morgan Stanley's Mr. Wien, for one, believes that 1986 will prove to be even more volatile than last year. Yet program trading will not be the only factor behind this new volatility, he said.

The stock market will react violently to disappointing news because so many economists, strategists and portfolio managers hold roughly the same opinion about a slow-growth economy, lowering interest rates and low inflation. With that rosy outlook, he said, "the market doesn't have a lot of protection against surprises."

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

GAF, a Bit Richer, Gives Up on Carbide

GAF dropped its bid for Union Carbide, but walked away with an \$81 million profit. Its battle to take over the troubled Carbide was extraordinarily complicated, with offers and counteroffers that bid the price up to what analysts said would have been a prohibitive level for GAF. Carbide will complete its buyback of 55 percent of its shares for \$85 each, but GAF will retain a 10 percent stake. Some analysts say that indicates that GAF could zero in again on Carbide.

Unemployment fell to its lowest level in five years, 6.8 percent overall, in December. And employment showed a healthy gain, even in the struggling manufacturing segment. The figures suggest that the economy is healthier than previously indicated. ... Producer prices rose four-tenths of 1 percent in December, making a modest 1.8 percent gain for all of 1985. The December rise was half the November rise. ... Retailers showed moderate gains in December.

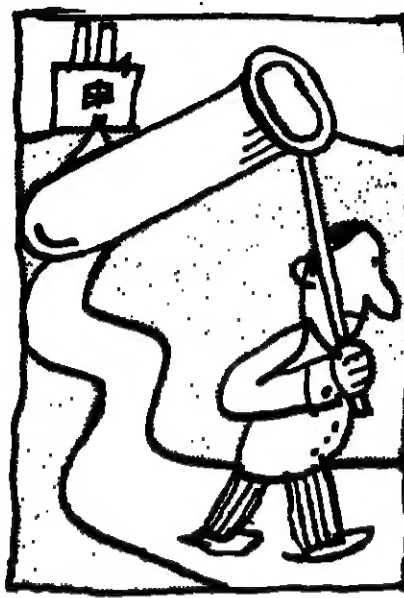
The market's slide was steep, but that did not surprise many analysts. They said traders were simply waiting for an excuse to let the market re-adjust after its recent meteoric rise. That excuse came on the drop in the unemployment rate, which dashed hopes in the credit markets for a looser monetary policy, sent long-term interest rates sharply higher and encouraged stock traders to sell. The Dow, after hitting a record 1,585.71 on Tuesday, dropped a record 38.10 points on Wednesday, or 2.5 percent of its value. By contrast, the 38.33-point drop on Oct. 28, 1929, was 2.5 percent of the Dow's value. The Dow finished the week with losses to close at 1,513.53, down 35.67. The basic money supply fell \$3.1 billion.

Pennzoil is still prohibited from seizing Texaco assets to satisfy a \$10.53 billion judgment. A Federal judge also said Texaco should post a bond, albeit of no more than \$1 billion, while it appeals and while negotiations for a settlement continue. But Pennzoil's chairman, J. Hugh Liedtke, said Texaco had a "mind-fix" that prevented earnest talks on a settlement. Texaco's chief, John K. McKinley, said Texaco had been negotiating in good faith.

The steep rise in Pennzoil stock Tuesday amid rumors that it had received a takeover offer from Texaco has sparked an investigation by regulators. While Texaco did make a bid — and Pennzoil rejected it — it was made long after the market closed and differed greatly from the rumored deal. Pennzoil's stock soared \$19.75, to \$83, in one day.

Libyan assets were frozen in the United States. Libya was believed to have withdrawn \$100 million after President Reagan had severed nearly all economic ties in response to terrorist acts.

Japan appears ready to remove the remaining barriers to telecommunications trade. Under continuing United States pressure, Japan has ended some barriers to American



Stuart Goldenberg

products, but the United States has wanted all restrictions removed from medical equipment and pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, electronics and forestry products.

The S.E.C. rejected proposals that would have restricted takeovers and defenses against takeovers, including so-called golden parachutes, poison pills and greenmail.

The Fed adopted curbs on the use of "junk bonds" used to finance unfriendly takeovers, after a delay because of pressure from the Administration and investment houses.

Westland is the prize in a transatlantic battle over the helicopter market in Europe. The faltering British company is the subject of competing bids from a United Technologies-Fiat group and a consortium of five European companies. The consortium was formed at the urging of the British Defense Minister, Michael Heseltine, who resigned in a dispute with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher over his role in the matter.

Hanson says it won its fight for SCM after a Federal court invalidated SCM's sale of its "crown jewels" to Merrill Lynch. Hanson said it had acquired two-thirds of SCM's stock in a tender offer; SCM said it would appeal the ruling.

The Postmaster General, Paul N. Carlin, will be replaced after a year in office by Albert V. Casey, the savvy retired chairman of American Airlines. And John R. Block will leave as Agriculture Secretary next month.

Kodak lost the right to produce instant cameras and film because a court ruled that it had infringed upon Polaroid's patents. Kodak offered to take back cameras that had already been sold, and give customers instead another camera, \$50 toward Kodak products or a share of Kodak stock.

Miscellaneous. Frederick Pierce quit as chairman of ABC in the wake of its absorption into Capital Cities. He was replaced by John B. Sias, a longtime Cap Cities executive.

China Gets a 30-Second Message

TV is teaching Chinese viewers about the ways of the West — and its products.

By PHILIP S. GUTTS

ON a Sunday late in February, right after the evening news, some 300 million residents of the People's Republic of China — 40 percent of its total population — are expected to watch the premiere of "One World" — a series of 15-minute international documentaries that is the first TV program produced in the West specifically for China.

The Chinese Government and experts on Chinese culture have little doubt that almost everyone with access to a television set will tune in. "There is a hunger in China for this kind of thing," said Kenneth Lieberthal, a specialist in Chinese politics at the University of Michigan. "It's going to be an overnight success."

The General Foods Corporation, one of the sponsors of "One World," has a lot riding on that success. It wants to develop a taste for coffee in China, a country of tea-drinkers. And it is making the debut of "One World" to double duty as the Chinese advertising debut of Maxwell House Coffee and its famous "good to the last drop" slogan.

General Foods is joining a burgeoning club of blue-chip American corporations — including the Procter & Gamble Company, Coca-Cola, the International Business Machines Corporation, Boeing, Eastman Kodak and Colgate-Palmolive — that are trying to promote their products and corporate images in China through advertising.

"We want to make Boeing synonymous with aviation in China," said Edward S. McLellan, advertising manager of the Boeing Commercial Airplane Company. "If we can achieve that, we've got one hell of a marketing edge."

Many companies say this is the time to establish a beachhead. "Right now it's a seller's market in China," said Charles J. Diodosio, vice president for China development at the Beatrice Companies, which has been making soft drinks there for a year, and has plans for marketing, ice cream and instant noodles. "People have money to spend but nothing to spend it on."

Unlike Americans, the Chinese do not tune commercials out — or off. "People sit still for advertising because they are not saturated with it. It is viewed as a way of getting more



Producer Yue-Sai Kan in her New York apartment.

information," said Scott D. Seligman, coordinator of China affairs for Burson-Marsteller, the public relations agency.

Until the advent of "One World," American companies generally presented their commercials on CBS reruns that China Central Television, the country's sole TV network, acquired in 1984. Shows included sports events, segments from "60 Minutes" and made-for-television movies.

"The Chinese didn't pay for the shows," said Jayne Ferguson, CBS account executive for China sales. "It is a barter arrangement in which we provide the programs and they give us the advertising time."

The one-hour programs — which generally appear on Thursday evenings during "golden time," the Chinese version of prime time that runs from 7 P.M. to 11:30 P.M. — contain 5 minutes of advertising, or 32 minutes, costs each sponsor \$300,000, Miss Ferguson said.

The Chinese have bought another batch of reruns to show in 1986, and Miss Ferguson has signed up seven corporate backers: Boeing, Kodak, Stauffer Chemical and the Weyerhaeuser Company have each agreed to renew their agreement with CBS; Colgate-Palmolive, International Hy-dron and Philips Electronics Instruments are signing on for the first time. I.B.M., which had sponsored the CBS programs last year, declined to renew.

American corporations can buy time from China Central Television for shows other than the CBS reruns, but they cannot specify when they will appear. The Chinese network airs commercials on randomly selected shows, and the American spots appear in competition with local ads and commercials from several other

countries, primarily Japan and Hong Kong.

Corporations thus generally prefer the CBS arrangement because it gives them some control. "We knew exactly when our commercials would appear and that they would be highly watched," said George Conte, director of international marketing communications for Kodak.

For foreign companies to be able to advertise at all in Communist China is a relatively new occurrence. For a decade during the Cultural Revolution, product advertising was banned as a "Western gimmick" and a "capitalist poison."

But now, millions of Chinese are wearing Western clothing, dancing to disco music and tasting fast food. About 50 million students are learning English and 40,000 of the country's most able college graduates have gone abroad to continue their studies.

In 1978, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, in a harbinger of future "open door" policies, permitted product advertising to return. And now ads blanket China's 365 newspapers, 633 magazines, 155 radio stations and 57 television stations.

Indeed, according to Government figures published in the English-language newspaper China Daily, more than 4,000 Chinese and foreign companies were advertising in 1984, compared to only 100 two years earlier. Companies that want advertising space in The People's Daily, the main Communist Party newspaper, or on China Central Television, reportedly must sometimes wait up to four months.

The products and corporations being advertised keep growing more diverse. As part of his program of the "four modernizations" — developing science and technology, agriculture, industry, and national defense — Mr.

Deng has committed his country to obtaining up-to-date equipment and skills. Since 1979, the modernization program has included an all-out effort to promote foreign investment.

Direct investment in China by American companies now stands at \$1 billion, most of it in the last two years, while exports to China were about \$3.6 billion in 1985, up 20 percent from a year earlier, according to John J. Callebaut, director of development for the National Council for U.S.-China Trade.

Joint ventures between foreign companies and Government business organizations are becoming more common, particularly in consumer goods production, where China wants to cut back on imports. Coca-Cola, for example, has joint ventures in four Chinese cities. Eric Riggie, a Coke spokesman, says the relationship is "a standard franchise agreement — we sell them syrup and concentrate and they, in turn, sell the beverage."

At the same time, the new economic freedom has led to rising consumer expectations. Before Mr. Deng's reforms, Chinese families dreamed of purchasing the "three bigs": a bicycle, a wristwatch and a sewing machine. Today, the upgraded "three bigs" are a washing machine, a refrigerator and a television set (preferably color).

The China Business Review estimates that 13 million to 15 million television sets will be sold in China this year. If accurate, that would increase the total number of television sets to 67 million — which would mean an even larger audience for programs such as "One World."

So far, General Foods and Procter & Gamble are "One World's" only official sponsors. But Yue-Sai Kan, the New York-based Chinese cable television entrepreneur who is producing and acting as host for the series, is looking for four more companies willing to pay \$450,000 for a 30-second commercial to run twice a week for a year; the price is set by the Chinese Government.

In a parallel with the CBS arrangement, the Chinese Government is not paying Miss Kan to produce the 15-minute show. Rather, in the one-page official agreement with China Central Television, signed by Wu Fung, director of CCTV, Miss Kan is guaranteed the right to sell the commercial time for her series.

After production costs, Miss Kan said, any amount remaining from the \$2.7 million in advertising revenue will be equally divided between herself and CCTV.

"I think either she will break even or she will make a lot of money," said Mark Goodson, of Goodson-Todman Productions, who has known Miss Kan for several years. "She will not lose money."

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JAN. 10, 1986

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Beat Co	15,592,500	43%	+ 3%
Mer Lyn	12,633,300	37	+ 2%
AT&T	10,644,500	23%	- 1
IBM	7,713,500	148%	- 5%
Texaco	7,048,800	31%	+ 1/2
Mobil	6,774,900	32	+ 1%
Eckerd	6,746,900	30%	- 1/2
Sears	6,585,200	37	- 1%
RCA	6,413,500	62%	+ 1%
Es Kod	5,744,700	46%	- 4%
Bent Tr	5,721,100	18%	+ 1/2
GTE	5,450,800	47%	+ 1%
Bnk Am	4,998,600	14%	- 1%
Exxon	4,967,700	54	- 1
Un Carb	4,906,200	74%	- 1

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
767	1,333	2,253	472	25

VOLUME

Total Sales	Same Per. 1985
732,144,462	509,848,390

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Change
141.1	135.0	135.8	-3.28
116.2	110.8	111.6	-1.12
64.1	61.4	61.8	-1.40
135.9	129.3	129.9	-1.65
123.6	118.1	118.8	-2.68

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	237.6	226.8	228.4	-5.49
20 Transp	193.4	183.2	184.0	-4.04
40 Util	94.4	89.7	90.8	-2.71
40 Financial	26.7	25.2	25.4	-0.33
500 Stocks	214.5	204.5	205.9	-4.92

Dow Jones

30 Indust	1578.1	1495.6	1513.5	-35.67
20 Transp	717.2	674.7	686.9	-16.02
15 Util	179.8	169.8	172.7	-3.13
65 Comb	628.6	594.3	602.8	-13.67

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JAN. 10, 1986

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Wang B	14,295,900	18%	- 1/2
Wickes	8,022,600	4%	...
BAT In	4,797,500	4%	-1/16
DomePet	1,593,400	2%	-1/16
AM Int	1,569,000	5%	...
ChTMA	1,458,800	19%	- 1/2
EchoBay	1,334,000	15	+ 1/2
TexAir	1,100,600	15	+ 1/2
GulfCan	1,033,000	14%	- 1/2
TIE	1,031,800	6%	- 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
311	544	211	147	164

VOLUME

Total Sales	Same Per. 1985
61,321,535	36,970,470

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE D. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1985

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TUPPING, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
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Facing Up to Acid Rain

President Reagan's special investigator has discovered that acid rain is a twofold problem. It is ruining the environment, reports Drew Lewis, and eroding America's relationship with Canada. "The seriousness of the problem, especially as it affects diplomatic relations with Canada, dictates that we act," he has told the President.

For five years the Reagan Administration has doggedly insisted that more study of acid rain precede any action against it. It ignored the consensus of experts, including a blue-ribbon panel appointed by the President's science adviser, that immediate action is necessary. It has offended Canada, whose lakes and forests, like those of New York and New England, receive much of the acid rain generated by acidic pollutants from the Midwest.

Mr. Lewis, Mr. Reagan's former Secretary of Transportation, has mastered both the science and politics of acid rain. The report prepared by him and a Canadian counterpart, William Davis, gives little credence to the scientific uncertainties put forward by skeptics about acid rain. Its major sources in the United States, the two envoys affirm, clearly include coal-fired power plants along the Ohio River Valley. As to cause and effect, they say the areas bearing the brunt of acid rain "are downwind and to the northeast of the areas of highest emission."

The report goes on to state that although there have been relatively few lakes acidified by the sour rain, "the number of potentially sensitive lakes is relatively large." Forests, too, are being damaged, probably by air pollution that includes acid rain. And the danger is long term: "It now appears that many old coal-fired power plants may

continue to operate for up to 60 or more years."

In affirming that acid rain causes widespread damage, the two envoys strip naked Mr. Reagan's "more study" policy. But they have constructed a fig leaf to keep the President decent, and an olive branch for him to hand to Canada's Prime Minister Mulroney. Mr. Lewis has won his Canadian colleague's assent to the proposition that they "must not ask either country to make a sudden, revolutionary change in its position." They don't ask that polluters be required to reduce emissions, since "the uncertain effects and high costs of control dictate that we act prudently."

Prime Minister Mulroney has sharply muted Canada's criticism of Washington's acid rain policy and needs a political boost when he visits Washington in March. Mr. Lewis proposes a \$5 billion research program to demonstrate methods of burning coal cleanly. Spread over five years, and with industry paying half, that's a small price for good neighborly relations.

Most vitally, by accepting Mr. Lewis's proposition, the Administration would have to swallow his premise: that acid rain is an urgent threat to the environment and requires immediate action. A demonstration of technology won't reduce emissions for years. But starting it dictates the next step: to require polluters to stop polluting now.

If Mr. Reagan rejects Mr. Lewis's solution, he will undermine his Canadian ally and prove his "more study" policy to be pure obstruction. If he accepts it, he will have taken the first step toward tackling acid rain. Mr. Lewis's report deftly allows his President to beat a graceful advance.

The Elephant Under Lilco's Blanket

Would Long Island benefit from a public takeover of Lilco, the Island's electric utility? State leaders in Albany, Democratic and Republican, seem ready to embrace the concept. And last week Governor Cuomo formed a committee of experts to study its practicality.

Any idea offering hope to Long Island's beleaguered ratepayers deserves consideration. But the closer one looks at a public takeover, the more problems become evident. There is simply no painless fix for what ails Lilco most: the \$5 billion cost of the utility's Shoreham nuclear reactor.

One advantage claimed by public power enthusiasts is that utilities owned by stockholders work first for profit, while publicly owned utilities work only for their customers. Actually, it is hard to generalize about such heavily regulated entities. Public utilities may not have to worry about stockholders but they must still raise capital and service their debt. Nor are public utilities more prescient than private ones in major investment decisions. Washington State's experience with public nuclear power was as great a debacle as Shoreham.

Publicly owned utilities can borrow capital more cheaply because their bondholders pay no tax on the interest. That would be only a modest advantage for a public Lilco. Refinancing its debt might reduce its average interest cost from 11 percent to 9. But flooding the market with billions in new bonds would surely raise interest costs for all other tax-exempt borrowers in New York, offsetting the gain.

The most inviting potential benefit of taking over Lilco must be the hope that its stock could be purchased for less than the "book" value on which regulators calculate the utility's fair profit. Lilco's stock currently sells for less than \$10. Its book value is about \$17, not counting the \$9 of each share that state regulators contend was spent imprudently in building Shoreham. If the state paid, say, \$13 or \$14, current stockholders would gain and ratepayers

would be spared having to finance hundreds of millions of dollars in capital obligations.

But Lilco argues, with justice, that the main reason the stock is selling for much less than \$17 is the state's refusal to allow it to operate the completed nuclear plant at Shoreham. If pressed to sell, Lilco would go to court to win full compensation, and would probably win. The company could even make a plausible legal case for compensation that equals the cost of replacing the whole Lilco system, much of it built with pre-inflation dollars. Arguably, the "replacement cost" value of a share could be calculated not at \$10 or \$17, but at \$100 or more.

Governor Cuomo and legislative leaders know all this. Why, then, their enthusiasm for a public takeover? For the Governor, who opposes operating Shoreham and is now trying to block regulators from passing any of its cost to ratepayers, direct public control of Lilco is the surest path to success. Even the minority of Long Islanders who favor using nuclear power would be pleased by any state action that promised to hold down rates. Most Senate Republicans are inclined to oppose public ownership of Lilco. In an election year, however, with control of the Senate in doubt, they apparently fear being caught on the wrong political side of the debate.

Most likely, the Governor's Lilco study committee will issue a split opinion. Mr. Cuomo will then be free to claim public ownership as the answer, and the Republicans will be free to fret in public about the potential burden on taxpayers.

Unfortunately, such political games won't bring Long Island nearer to a solution to its real problem. Someday, some way, the state will have to accept responsibility for apportioning the cost of Shoreham among ratepayers, taxpayers and stockholders. The discussion of public ownership is just a diversion.

Topics

Changes, Not All for the Better

Subway Lifers

Deplored "a taxpayer rip-off," a Westchester legislator, Paul Feiner, wants New York's transit authority to stop giving its board members lifetime passes for free rides on subways, buses and commuter trains. His complaint is half right.

He contends that freeloading makes members more tolerant of fare increases and shoddy service. That overlooks the value of their riding lines as often as possible. Mr. Feiner is right, however, to challenge the lifetime feature of the pass. Former members should pay like everyone else. The revenue loss is trivial; the signal to working people is all wrong.

Plum for Panama

The new law to wipe out the Federal deficit is unlikely to do any such thing, but it sure will give Panama a windfall of at least \$16 million.

The ill-conceived Gramm-Rudman budget law requires a first across-the-board slice next month in many Federal programs—unless Congress and the President quickly divine some other way to bring down this year's billowing deficit. The framers of the law were on guard against

every possible loophole, but they didn't reckon with the Panama Canal Commission.

The canal pays for itself from tolls, which have already been set by international agreement to yield \$320 million this year, the anticipated cost of operations, maintenance and capital. If the budget law now requires all agencies to reduce spending by 5 percent, that level of tolls would yield a \$16 million surplus, and maybe more. But unlike other agencies, the commission's unspent funds do not revert to the United States Treasury. They go to Panama's.

Such is life in the Gramm-Rudman straitjacket. And Congress has donned it voluntarily.

Clean Government

A couple who moved from Chicago to Montclair, N.J., was recently surprised to receive in the mail the town's "1986 Holiday Refuse Collection Schedule." The neat brochure described how the garbage collections would vary over each holiday.

As Chicagoans, the couple felt blessed enough when a precinct captain took complaints about collection failures. Taxpayers in other cities expect not even that much. Knowing

now that garbage won't be taken on Washington's Birthday does not add significantly to their quality of life. But knowing that a town wants them to know certainly does.

Peephole of Science

Science magazine has given itself a typographical facelift with a bizarre blurb. The learned journal now solemnly dots the "i" in its all-capital logo, SCIENCE.

No, it's not a typo. An editorial about the otherwise admirable redesign offers an effusion of excuses for the errant black dot. Apparently it represents "the light at the end of the tunnel," "the globe whose environment we must study and protect," "the peephole into the future" and "the willingness of scientists to battle conformism."

With an inky black light at the end of its tunnel, it's no wonder that Science's peephole into the future looks so murky, and that its globe is veiled in the black shroud of nuclear winter. As Science battles the conformist suspicion among the innumerate that scientists are illiterate, it should realize the handicap of laboring under a logo that's an offense to orthography.

Letters

Time Is the Enemy of Nuclear Stability

To the Editor:

It is encouraging that in your Dec. 30 editorial "The Test Ban Clock Nears Midnight" you no longer dismiss out of hand the idea of a moratorium on nuclear testing. However, many of your observations about a test ban are confused and contradictory.

You assert that the arms race is driven by "enduring rivalry, not technology." Wrong. It's both. For example, the development of multiple warheads has been a principal source of first-strike fears, hence, Henry Kissinger's oft-quoted remark that he wishes he had "thought through the implications of a MIRVed world." To insist that the arms race is solely the product of enduring rivalry is also a counsel of despair. The rivalry is not going to go away. Surely you are not suggesting that we give up efforts to control arms.

More disconcerting is the suggestion that nuclear testing has brought about smaller, less destructive nuclear weapons and that such weapons are a good development that would be ruled out by a test ban. However, officials of the Energy Department have assured Congress that though the new weapons may be smaller, they are more destructive. Most important, these weapons form the technical basis for the fantasy that we can fight, control and win a nuclear war.

But our principal concern is that you continue to suggest that a moratorium and a ban on nuclear testing is something that can wait. In fact, time is the enemy of nuclear stability. It has been seven years since SALT II was signed to limit strategic arms and more than a dozen years since Congress ratified a nuclear-arms-control treaty. The agreement you envision (trading "Star Wars" for Soviet production of heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles) is laudable, but can we afford to forgo all other measures while we wait perhaps another decade to try to achieve it?

As time passes, "Star Wars" will become more difficult to trade because it will become a political fact of life as billions of dollars fall into key Congressional districts. Banning all nuclear tests now would collapse the "Star Wars" tent by pulling out its long pole—the bomb-pumped X-ray laser kill mechanism. A strategic defense research could then be reduced to less dangerous levels.

The history of arms-control efforts has been the story of missed oppor-

unities of the well-intentioned demanding the best and dismissing the good. As you rightly point out, a nuclear-test ban is not a substitute for more complex and sweeping agreements to reduce arms, but a verifiable way to pause and give our negotiators time to succeed.

DAVID AARON
PAUL NEWMAN
New York, Dec. 31, 1985

Ban Is Essential

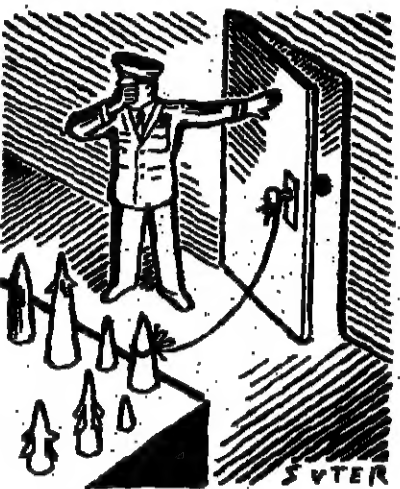
To the Editor:

As your Dec. 30 editorial states, "the central issue is . . . how to lessen the incentive for launching a surprise attack." But I must disagree with your reasons for dismissing the contribution of a comprehensive test ban.

First, you suggest that reducing the number of missiles would be more useful. Certainly, lowering the numbers sounds comforting, but how would that reduce the danger of a surprise attack? Nobody can say.

In contrast, a comprehensive test ban would lower confidence in all nuclear weapons, and a low-confidence weapon is less likely to be used in a surprise attack.

Second, you suggest that a test ban might preclude desirable stabilizing new weapons. But you do not name any of these new devices. That's because there are none. In contrast, there is no doubt that continued testing will produce destabilizing first-



strike weapons, including high power, lightweight missile warheads the Russians have not yet perfected.

Third, you argue that past modern-

ization of strategic weapons "has included a trend toward smaller, less destructive warheads." Not so. We began the multiple-warhead era with 170-kiloton intercontinental ballistic warheads. Since then we have modernized to 330-kiloton warheads and are heading for 470 kilotons. Similarly, in submarine-launched missiles we have modernized from the original 40-kiloton Poseidon through the 100-kiloton Trident I and are heading for the 475-kiloton Trident II.

Finally, the comprehensive test ban is essential for long-term nuclear nonproliferation. If we don't set the example, eventually the rest of the world will not follow.

Unless we love nuclear weapons for their own sake, there is no denying that continued nuclear-warhead testing is all loss and no gain for national security. A verifiable and nearly completed treaty to end it is available, and nations of five continents have offered to help monitor. If we are serious about keeping nukes away from the likes of Qaddafi, there can be no excuse for the Administration's refusal to conclude the comprehensive test ban.

(Rep.) THOMAS J. DOWNEY
Chairman, Defense Task Force
House Budget Committee
Washington, Jan. 3, 1986

Weapons Competition

To the Editor:

I disagree with two points in your editorial. First, the progress of weapons technology also plays a role in perpetuating strategic competition by destabilizing the nuclear-weapons status quo. United States development of multiple warheads in the late 1960's and Soviet deployment of an effective antisatellite-weapons system in the mid-1970's are clear examples.

Second, if the central issue facing strategic policy makers is to reduce incentives to use nuclear weapons, how can the "trend toward smaller, less destructive warheads" be "not wholly bad"? As the destructiveness of nuclear warheads is reduced, so is the distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons.

In time of conflict, military commanders would then be more apt to turn to their nuclear options. Chances of nuclear-weapons use are thereby raised by continued warhead research.

JOHN D. TOWER
Suffield, Conn., Dec. 31, 1985

Courts Will Be Villain On Gramm-Rudman

To the Editor:

I commend you for your editorial "Will the Courts Make Congress Vibrate?" (Dec. 29), which exposed the dubious constitutionality of the Gramm-Rudman measure, which prescribes limits for the Federal deficit in the next five years, down to zero in 1991.

As your headline suggests, in enacting Gramm-Rudman, Congress abdicated more than its responsibility to vote on budget measures. It abdicated its responsibility to take the Constitution seriously and to act as the Constitution requires.

Under the Constitution, Congress has the initial responsibility to determine the extent of its constitutional authority and then to constrain its acts within that authority. Yet for reasons apparently of political expediency, Congress has shifted its constitutional burden to the courts by passing a dangerously unconstitutional measure.

Passing the buck to the courts may yield a short-term benefit to elected officials, but ultimately it will sap public support for the courts. For it is the courts that must now act to declare the measure unconstitutional and bear the brunt of public displeasure more justly directed at Congress.

SETH B. SCHAFER
New York, Dec. 30, 1985

Indonesia's Neighbors Fear Expansionism

To the Editor:

A Dec. 16 news article reporting that Indonesia says it is making progress in two trouble spots, the province of Irian Jaya on the island of New Guinea and the formerly Portuguese East Timor, completely distorts the situation in those two hapless territories. "Indonesians" are quoted as claiming progress in "defusing two 'time bombs' left behind by colonial powers."

The article assumes that Indonesia has some legitimacy in the two territories. Nothing could be further from the truth. West New Guinea, or "West Irian" as the Indonesians call it, was administered separately by the Dutch from Indonesia. Its Melanesian peoples were never part of any pre-colonial or colonial Indonesia. West New Guineans were forced into a shotgun marriage with Indonesia as a result of Indonesia's violence against the Dutch colonial authorities.

Similarly, the East Timorese were culturally and politically separate from Indonesia up through the colonial period. Indonesia launched a destabilization campaign in East Timor, followed by a large-scale invasion on Dec. 7, 1975. As many as 200,000 of a population of 600,000 perished in the fighting and subsequent displacement and famine. The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have consistently

condemned Indonesia's actions. To call peoples struggling for self-determination in such circumstances "separatists" is to miss the mark. The "time bomb" is Indonesian expansionism. It has already taken the two territories in question. Indonesia's "confrontation" in the 1960's was aimed (unsuccessfully) at swallowing up the Borneo territories of what is now Malaysia. The leaders of Papua New Guinea, in the eastern part of the island of New Guinea, have good reason to fear that their country is next.

ROGER CLARK
Vice President
Intl. League for Human Rights
New York, Dec. 20, 1985

Photo Science and Art

To the Editor:

"The making of the negative is a science; the making of the print is an art" is attributed to Ansel Adams in the Camera column of Dec. 29. Eastman House in Rochester has a display quoting F. Hurter and V. C. Driffield (inventors of the H. & D. curves) as saying, "The production of a perfect picture by means of photography is an art; the production of a technically perfect negative is a science." I believe Hurter and Driffield said it first.

FRED H. STEIGER
East Brunswick, N.J., Jan. 1, 1986

A Tower to Make the Hearts of New Yorkers Soar Outrageously

To the Editor:

The proposal by Donald Trump to erect a 150-story building on New York City's West Side has sparked considerable controversy. Paul Goldberger (Arts and Leisure, Dec. 22) has criticized the tower as impractical, "hardly a real building meant for real people in a real city."

Since when must real estate be "real"? The lowermost layers of such an edifice may indeed be mere brick and mortar. But its uppermost floors are mixed with epic, with mythology. So it was with the Empire State Building, which, when I was a boy, was not just the first thing I wanted to see when I visited the city; it was the only thing. From the observation deck on the 86th floor (and that was quite a way from the top!) you could see New Jersey, Staten Island, even, on a clear day, a hint of London in the east. That was when New York was No. 1.

Some years back, a usurper arose in the Midwestern flatlands: an architectural eyesore that dared to rise higher than the colossus of 34th Street, higher than the twin towers on Vesey Street. It was as if our little sister to the west had fantasies of shaking off her Second City image.

Now someone comes along who wants to trump Chicago's high card. I say, let him do it! Arguments about impracticality have no relevance here. What is "practical" about New York? Is it not its wild impracticality that helps make the city what it is? There is nothing practical about standing in line from dawn for Horowitz tickets, for Joan Sutherland tickets, for Diana Ross tickets—but here is where they all are.

Ours is a city of desperation and exasperation as well as inspiration. Inspiration is what offsets the first two and what keeps us going. Would the Trump skyscraper clog traffic? Surely. Would it bring in tourist dollars? Just as surely. Would it offer the inspiration that gives New York its powerful "chemistry"? Absolutely.

Is there a serious impediment in the present plan? I see only one. When you're perched in your 147th-floor dream apartment, anticipating

your pizza or Chinese dinner from the local takeout parlor, you've got a problem. By the time the runners rush across street, wait for the elevators and soar into the sky with your dinner, the pizza is cold, the Chinese vegetables have wilted. Solution: insist that Mr. Trump include in his blueprints a pizzeria and Chinese fast-delivery kitchen on the 75th floor. With that, perfection.

When this genuinely, authentically, incontestably tallest of the tall is built, as I hope it will be, I plan to take my grandchildren to the top of it. There, as they circumnavigate the observation deck of the No. 1 building of the No. 1 city of our galaxy, they can take their binoculars in hand and make out in the distance Saskatchewan, the Yucatan, or, when the clouds lift, the gracious curves of the Eiffel Tower. Oh yes, and out beyond the Hudson, the little Sears thing.

MICHAEL H. STONE
New York, Dec. 23, 1985

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ESSAY | William Safire

The Outs and the Ins of Out and In

WASHINGTON — A generation ago, Nancy Mitford and Alan Ross compiled a list of what was "U" and "Non-U"—"U" standing for "upper class." Pop sociologists have since been issuing lists of what is in and out among the glitterati.

I do the same in the language dodge: *dishrag* is out and *tea towel* is in; *bushes* are out and *shrubs* are in; *perfume* is out and *fragrance* is in. In campus lingo, *excellent* is out and *choice* is in. In Presidential parlance, *kook* is out and *flake* is in; and *pride* goeth before a *hubris*.

Trends, especially among the grimly trendy, do not make news, but give us hints about society's values. That is why I examine "The List" compiled each year by Nina Hyde in *The Washington Post's* Style section.

Formlessness is out, she reports in this year's list, and *shape* is in; cor-

porate climbing is out and *entrepreneurship* is in. *Cruises* are out and *treks* are in (nobody hijacked a trek). In fashion, *single-breasted* is out and *double-breasted* is in; *veiled felt hats* are out and *leather hats* are in, presumably an offshoot of the trekking trend; *Gucci bags* are out and *Hermès scarfs* are in (from which I deduce scarves are out and scarfs are in). *Doug Flutie* is out and *William (the Refrigerator) Perry* is in.

The item that interested me most, illuminating a dark corner of political-diplomatic power brokerage, was this: *Henry Kissinger* is out, and in an especially cruel twist, *Richard Nixon* is in.

Talk about treks: the Second Coming of Nixon, reflected as in a muddy pool by the long decade's journey into night of Super-K, tells us all there is to know about the fiercely fawning fickleness of foreign-policy pharisees.

A decade ago—hardly two eons to the internationalist Establishment—Nixon was the beetle-browed, Unidicted Co-Conspirator, uncaring of the line, perpetrator of human wrongs, whose lone good deed was the opening to China, which only he was able to accomplish because he had driven out as "soft on communism" all the gallant Foreign Service officers who wanted to double-cross the capitalist fogies on Taiwan.

To the pipe-puffing professors in their Milbank tweeds, and to the ultra-responsible editorialists who cheered the downfall of the ultimate anti-elitist in the White House, Henry Kissinger was the last outpost of reason and sound judgment in Washington. They rallied to him, protected him from the revelation of minor sins in the larger interest of détente and survival in a nuclear age.

Today the foot is in the other

Why Nixon and Kissinger have traded places

mouth. Richard Nixon is hailed as Elder Statesman, master guide of the *tour d'horizon*, the most sought-after speaker to audiences that once reviled him—while Henry the K, once the Sage of River House, is now the outcast of Poker Flat, with none so door to pay him severance.

What caused the pharisaic flip-flop?

To some extent, the policies of both men have changed. Nixon of the 70's, after his fall, warned of "The Real War"; but Nixon of the 80's is delighting the negotiation-first set by writing of "Real Peace." Kissinger in the 70's defended détente against the philistine Reaganites; but Kissinger of the 80's warns Mr. Reagan at the summit of the danger of appeasement and lack of will in combatting Soviet expansionism.

More important is the changed need of the members of the internationalist Establishment. Ten years ago, they needed a man on the inside like Henry, who at least covered his hawkishness with dove's feathers. Today, still on the outside, they have discovered the usefulness of The Great Outsider himself, a Nixon who covers their unpopular cooling by putting standard internationalism in harsh terms. He caws of "hard-

headed détente," an oxymoron synonymous with "soft-headed confrontation," thereby providing the needed starch that makes the supple spines of old Atlanticists seem stiff.

That is why Mr. Kissinger is out and Mr. Nixon is in. To be in is not to be in power, or to be in the right, or in a state of intellectual grace. To be in is merely to be in fashion with the fashionable, to be an object of their delight and an instrument of their belief that trendiness is next to godliness.

I remember exonerating Kissinger and his legion of sycophants in the 70's while defending the best elements of Nixon policy on the burning deck when all the rest had fled. Now here am I, a decade later, happily picking Henry out of the hardlineup and snarling at the pussycats' lionization of my old boss.

To a card-carrying contrarian, Out is the in place to be. □

What Will Happen After the Philippines Election?

Civil War Is Likely

By Raymond Bonner

BACOLOD, Philippines — Two American diplomats traveled here from Manila recently to assess the political climate. Priests and journalists with whom they talked said their most frequent question was whether the militant opposition, the New People's Army, would give up and come down from the mountains if Ferdinand E. Marcos lost the presidency.

That is a reasonable inquiry. But it is myopic to think the election alone will defeat the Communists and again make the Philippine archipelago a mecca for American sailors and businessmen. The Philippines appears to be hurtling toward a full-scale civil war. It won't be averted by an election, no matter how free and fair. Not even if Mr. Marcos loses.

Perhaps a million or more Filipinos are sympathetic to the New People's Army, the Communist Party's guerrilla army, not because they believe in Communism but because they view the guerrillas and the party as the only force capable of reordering the country's social and economic structures and thus reducing the grotesque inequalities between rich and poor.

Though this is a third world country, Manila is a first world capital. Patrons of New York's Lincoln Center would feel at home attending festivities near Manila Bay. The Makati District, where office buildings and shopping centers march down broad boulevards, could be mistaken for Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles. Yet women making Reebok sneakers earn \$2.50 a day, and several thousand families live amid the stench and infestation of a garbage dump, surviving on what mothers and small children can pick out of the refuse.

Nowhere perhaps is the disparity between the rich and poor more stunning, and the polarization of society more advanced, than here in Negros province, where sugar is king and sugar barons live in regal splendor, while old women and school girls do back-breaking labor for a dollar a day. Getting rid of Mr. Marcos is not going to bring an end to the strife in Negros. During a recent mass demonstration, the first cry was "Enough hunger and poverty!" End-

Raymond Bonner, a former New York Times correspondent, is working on a book about United States policy toward the Philippines during the Marcos era.

ing the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" was last on the list of demands.

"What's needed in the Philippines is a radical redistribution of wealth, a Government whose principal objectives are to feed, clothe and educate the poor." That is not rhetoric of a Communist Party member but a flat statement from a person with unassailable establishment credentials whose family has long had close ties with the Government.

It's virtually certain that leaders of the New People's Army won't give up even if the Government undertakes economic reform. Their aim is to establish a Communist state more or less along the lines of Mao Zedong's China. But economic reform could, by weaning away thousands of New People's Army supporters, make the coming to power of a Communist government less likely.

Yet any attempt to alter the country's social and economic structure is going to arouse fierce opposition among the rich, who are preparing for war against any government that attempts to take away, or asks them to share, what they have.

According to several American diplomats, weapons are pouring into the country, intended not for the New People's Army, which still relies largely on weapons taken from Gov-

ernment soldiers, but for the private armies of the wealthy, which are rapidly growing in number and strength. Some of the most powerful private armies are commanded by the sugar lords in Negros.

Nor is there likely to be much enthusiasm in Washington for large-scale Philippine Government spending on the poor. The Reagan Administration gave little support to the land-reform program in El Salvador, and land redistribution is what the Negros farm workers are demanding so they can raise subsistence crops and thus reduce their dependence on sugar barons.

As the election draws closer, and as the Philippines becomes a major foreign policy concern, members of Congress searching for solutions might follow the example of a Western European diplomat: When he comes to Negros, he lives for a day or two with a farm worker's family, sleeping on a hard cot, among the chickens and piglets and malnourished children. □

Marcos Reforms Are Likely

By Max Singer

WASHINGTON — Everyone "knows" that since Ferdinand E. Marcos is a corrupt dictator whose greed has destroyed the Philippine economy, the only way he can win the election in February is to use his troops to intimidate voters and his election commission to steal or miscount votes. But my own observations suggest that he might be able to win without such tactics — and that, in victory, he could well move toward some important reforms of the Philippine system.

The common view is that when President Marcos called the special election, he hoped that because his principal opponent, Benigno S. Aquino Jr., had been murdered, the opposition would be too divided and leaderless to beat him. But Corazon C. Aquino, the martyr's widow, and Senator Salvador H. Laurel, the political professional who headed the largest opposition group, have joined together to provide a strong electoral alternative.

Accordingly, the main question in most discussions in Manila is what Mr. Marcos — who tends to be classified by critics with the Shah of Iran and Anastasio Somoza Debayle — will do to steal the election despite the will of the people, and what the blood-letting results will be.

But a brief, recent foray into the complexities of Philippine politics left me with a different view — and with raised hopes for the Philippine future. Both President Marcos and his opposition seemed more robust than I expected, and there are a variety of elements of strength that had not been so visible from a distance.

The greatest surprise was the apparent likelihood that Mr. Marcos can win the election without using force or fraud. Here are some of the reasons.

First, it is the urban and business sectors of the economy that Mr. Marcos's mismanagement has decimated; the rural areas where most peo-

ple live have not been hit nearly so hard. And only a minority of voters live in the areas where abuses by Mr. Marcos's rotten army are felt directly.

Second, even if most of the charges heard against Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos are true, the personal income many Americans have of them as unpopular right-wing dictators or decadent Oriental despots is inaccurate. They are active, astute politicians who, though often imperious in style, tend to deal with individuals in a straightforward human way. They are in close touch with conditions throughout the country, and in the style of personal rule they act to take care of many individual problems. Their inclinations are more populist or socialist than conservative, and strong Communist sympathizers are among their closest associates.

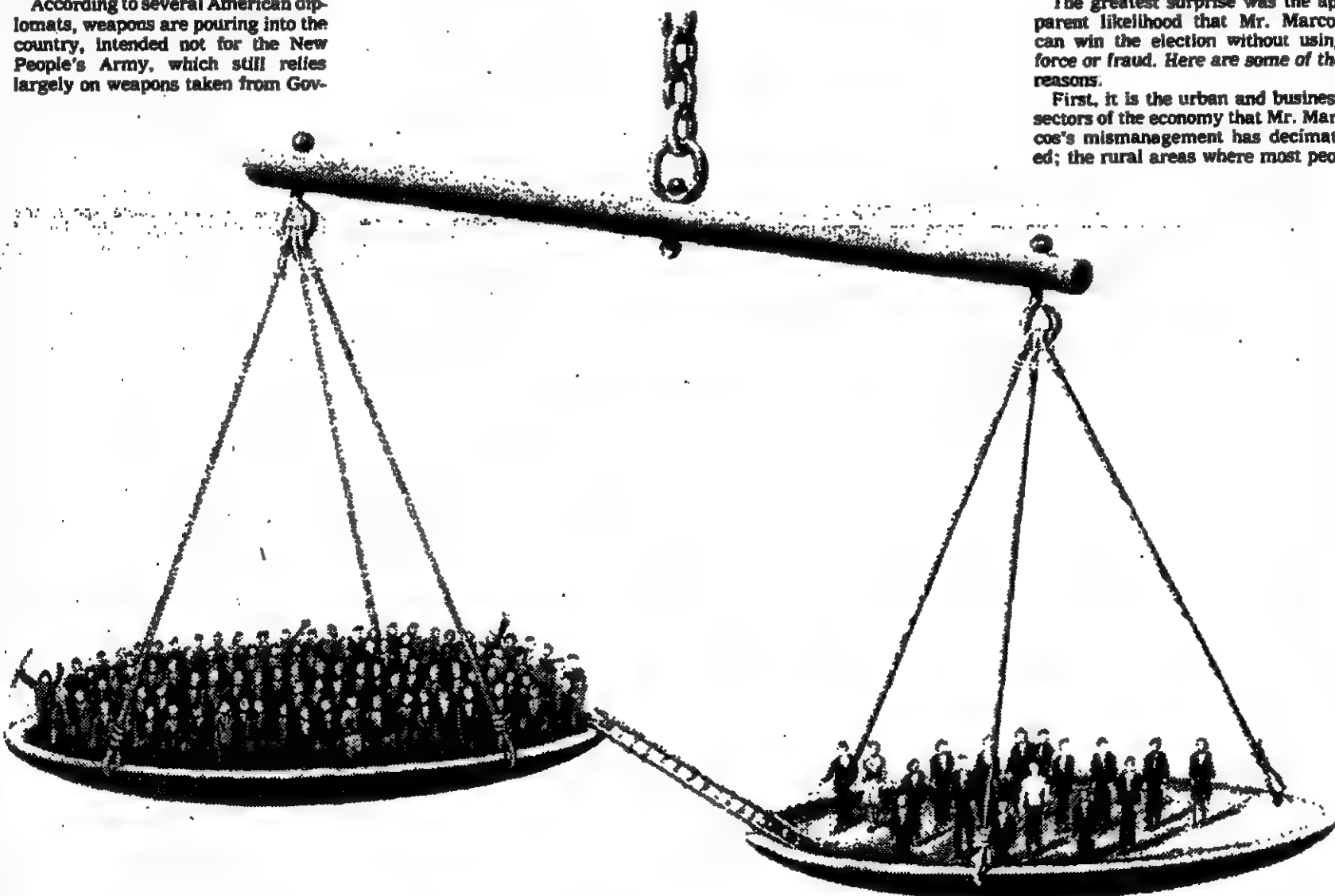
President Marcos, known to be in bad health, is likely to get a number of votes by having Arturo Tolentino, 75, the most widely respected politician in the country, as his vice presidential candidate, especially since the vigorous and competent Mr. Tolentino has a reputation for independence and for opposing Mr. Marcos, who removed him as Foreign Minister last year.

Many Filipinos vote with their local political leader, so a key element of winning elections is getting the support of powerful leaders who are usually more influenced by factional or party concerns than by national issues. A province by province analysis suggests Mr. Marcos is in a good position to put together sufficient local support to win, despite widespread dissatisfaction with his performance.

Mrs. Aquino suffers several disadvantages despite the appeal of her name and her obvious good character. Some voters who would like an alternative to Mr. Marcos will be hesitant to vote for her because of her inexperience, doubts about her ability to deal with Communists and — especially in rural areas — because she is a woman. Her distaste for politics makes it unlikely that she will be able to compete effectively with Mr. Marcos for support of local political leaders. There are still exploitable divisions among Mr. Marcos's opponents, despite the grand alliance at the top of the ticket.

More speculatively, there are signs that a genuine Marcos victory might be followed by substantial reforms. The new mandate might strengthen his hand against corrupt generals, and there are signs, such as the selection of Mr. Tolentino that President Marcos and his wife may want to end their administration with general popular respect so that their 27-year-old son can have hopes of a political career.

Max Singer is a founder and former president of the Hudson Institute, a public-policy organization.



Rafal Obinski

10 'Commandments' for Negotiating With the Soviet Union

By Edward L. Rowny

WASHINGTON — As the United States and Soviet Union prepare to resume the fourth round of the strategic arms talks in Geneva, it is useful to reflect on lessons learned in past negotiations with Moscow. While much of the discussion on arms control of course concerns the merits of substantive positions, it is also important to consider negotiating techniques.

I have drawn up a list of "10 commandments," or practical principles, for negotiating with Moscow based on personal experience. Seasoned negotiators already understand these things, but they must always keep the principles in mind — as must the Congress and the public.

1. Above all, remember the objective.

The Russians have better defined, more clear-cut, longer-range objectives than we do. Moreover, while Americans are problem-solvers — inheritors of the Greek rationalist tradition who believe that all prob-

lems have solutions if only we try hard enough — the Russians do not accept that notion. Furthermore, whereas we Americans think in terms of four-year Presidential election cycles, the Russians think in terms of longer periods — often decades, even centuries. These differences, which usually work to our disadvantage in negotiations, can be minimized if we keep our objectives clearly before us.

2. Be patient.

Moscow places arms control in a

'Remember the objective'

larger context than we do. The Russians are prepared to wait for shifts in what they call the "correlation of forces" that serve their political ends. Americans are not patient. Although arms control is a serious business and a game only metaphorically, it is enlightening to note the games that are popular in each country. The Russians play chess; we play video games. They like the well-thought-

through results of step-by-step reasoning; we like the instant results of electronic machines.

3. Keep secrets.

By tradition, history and type of government, Soviet society is closed and secretive. The United States is an open society. In negotiations, the Russians always play their cards close to the chest; we mostly play ours face up on the table. They can obtain many secrets from our press; it is more difficult for us to discover theirs. This makes it harder for us to verify Soviet compliance with signed agreements. It also highlights the need to work harder at keeping our negotiating positions confidential.

4. Bear in mind the differences in the two political structures.

It is obvious — but the obvious is often overlooked — that the two nations' political structures are fundamentally different. The Russians have a centralized authority, with nothing comparable to our independent legislature or our ratification process. This requires us to carefully consider Congressional perspectives in our negotiating positions. The Russians have no such constraints.

5. Beware of "Greeks" bearing gifts.

The Russians grudgingly acknowledge the necessity of making trades, but view compromise as a weakness.

They tend to follow the maxim that "what is mine is mine — what is yours is negotiable." A revealing example of their approach to compromise was an experience I had during SALT II negotiations. The two delegations took a boat ride on Lake Geneva. To thaw the cool Russians, I played Soviet tunes on my harmonica. Everyone danced and had a good time. Later, the head of the Soviet delegation took up a collection. He then grinned and said: "O.K. We will split it 50-50. You had 50 percent of the pleasure by playing, and I will get 50 percent of the pleasure by spending the money." He pocketed the money. That is how the Russians operate.

6. Remember that to the Russians form is substance.

They believe that the physical size of the table and having greater numbers there are all important matters. At the beginning of the strategic arms reduction talks in 1982, the Russians arrived with "one and six" (one negotiator and six delegates). I protested that we had agreed to "one and five." I did not want to perpetuate the conditions of SALT II in which I was pitted against two Soviet delegates. I called a recess, summoned one of my senior advisors and made him a delegate. Thus, when we reconvened, we each had one and six. My Soviet counterpart said, "You can't blame us for trying." The moral is that we must let

'Don't be deceived by words'

the Russians know they cannot rely on using form to influence substance.

7. Don't be deceived by the Soviet "fear of being invaded."

From an early age, Soviet children are taught a fear of being invaded and imbued with the nation's need for large military forces. Granted, the Soviet Union, and Russia before it, have suffered invasions. But in 1888 the Russian general staff concluded that of the 38 major wars in which Russia had been involved, 36 were offensive and only two defensive. The Soviet Union did not come to occupy one-sixth of the world's land mass by fighting defensive actions.

8. Beware of negotiating at the 11th hour.

The Russians are masters of 11th-hour negotiations. They wait until the very end, hoping to put pressure on us to make concessions simply to complete an agreement. While this is normal, the United States has on rare oc-

casions shown that it, too, can use this tactic to advantage. For example, in 1979, we were able to use the deadline of the Vienna summit conference between Jimmy Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev to pick up several concessions. We should take advantage of such opportunities more often and not let the Soviet Union monopolize them.

9. Don't be deceived by words.

Years of dialogue with the Russians have taught me that, like Alice in Wonderland, words mean what they want them to mean. They call their troops in Afghanistan "freedom-fighters"; the opposition they call "rebels." They try to use a word to mesmerize us and thus put us at a disadvantage. They are masters at "semantic infiltration."

10. Don't misinterpret the human element.

While Soviet negotiators can be pleasant and appear conciliatory, in the end they are always tough bargainers and dedicated Communists. An apparent meeting of the minds one day is often totally forgotten or repudiated by them the next. Whatever a Soviet negotiator says or does in the belief that he is serving his country he considers to be morally irreproachable. Given the great significance of the subjects being negotiated, I believe our best approach is to be even-handed, firm and patient. □

Edward L. Rowny is special adviser to the President for arms control. This article is adapted from an essay in the book "A Game for High Stakes: Lessons Learned in Negotiations with the Soviet Union," edited by Leon Sloss and Scott Davis.

Martin Ritt: Human Relationships and Moral Choices Fuel His Movies

By THOMAS O'CONNOR

Midway through Martin Ritt's new film, "Murphy's Romance," starring Sally Field and James Garner, the latter explains to Miss Field's young son that all the blood and gore in a slasher film they've just seen is phony.

"They fake everything out there in Hollywood," Mr. Garner observes knowingly in the film.

The jab has a sly irony, coming in a movie made by Mr. Ritt. The 71-year-old director — who started in show business 50 years ago in New York as an Off Broadway actor — has built a widely admired, if seldom honored, film career by making pictures long on character, depth and social commitment, qualities that are tough to fake.

Since 1956, in two dozen films as diverse as "Norma Rae," "Cross Creek," "Sounder," "Conrack," "Hombre," "Hud," "The Spy Who Came in From the Cold" and "The Long Hot Summer," Mr. Ritt has specialized in unflashy, quietly moving studies of human relationships and moral choice.

"I care about how people live," the director said in a recent interview at his modest — by Hollywood standards — home in Pacific Palisades. "Most of my pictures are concerned with the human condition."

"I'm also very committed to assuming responsibility for one's actions," the director said, rooted in his experience of being blacklisted



James Garner takes Sally Field for a spin on the dance floor in "Murphy's Romance," the new film directed by Martin Ritt, who started in show business 50 years ago.

during the McCarthy years, an era he bitterly skewered in his 1976 film, "The Front."

"If there's a young guy with my sensibilities today, he's going to have a rough time getting his picture made," said Mr. Ritt, a short, bulky man whose gravelly baritone retains the rhythms of Manhattan's Lower East Side, where he grew up.

"It's gotten tougher to make anything with a social conscience these days because the climate is very bad," he said.

"Murphy's Romance," in contrast to his politically charged films, "is a slight story," according to Mr. Ritt. "But it's a charming, affirmative film. It has no pretension; it makes you feel good."

Miss Field plays a feisty, impoverished divorcee who moves with her young son to an Arizona horse ranch, where she is courted simultaneously by Mr. Garner, the nearby town's middle-aged pharmacist, and by her ne'er-do-well ex-husband (played by Brian Kerwin).

The film, which is rated PG, has barely a modicum of suspense and none of the special effects, nudity, violent confrontations, car chases or patriotic overtones favored by many current Hollywood releases. Even the horses Miss Field's character raises are peripheral to a simple love story about adult choices and responsibility.

"I didn't need any of that stuff," Mr. Ritt said. "I just found the people so engaging that I thought everybody would have the same good time I was having."

"We didn't pander to the audience. It's not sentimental or cloying. It's not jingoistic. It's just an adult film about a relationship among three characters."

"Murphy's Romance" not only reunites Mr. Ritt with Miss Field (who emerged as a serious actress and won

tradesmen, trappers and drifters, the war's most important battles were bloodless.

They were fought in the legislatures of the individual colonies, in the quarrelsome sessions of the two Continental Congresses, in upper-class drawing rooms where wealthy, politically powerful families were split by conflicting loyalties.

By stubbornly sticking to their plan of telling the story of the American Revolution from the point of view of a man who has no point of view — a widowed Adirondack trapper named Tom Dobb (Mr. Pacino) — Mr. Hudson and Mr. Dillon have made a movie that provokes neither ideas nor emotions, but only laughter and confusion.

The movie resolutely refuses to give us a good, solid date for anything we see on the screen. Yet it also moves its characters around so freely that they are on hand for the Battles of Long Island and New York, and are at Valley Forge with General Washington (who's seen only out of the corner of the camera's eye), at Philadelphia (after the British have withdrawn), and at Yorktown in time for the surrender of General Cornwallis. Just why Mr. Pacino's Adirondack-trained Tom Dobb, now a scout for the American Army, and his two New York Indian aides would be at Yorktown is anybody's guess.

Almost everything that happens in "Revolution" is anybody's guess. The movie jumps around in place and time so abruptly that it's impossible to follow the narrative. The actors, including Mr. Pacino, Donald Sutherland (as a sadistic British sergeant-major) and Nastassja Kinski (as a young, high-born Manhattan woman on fire for the rebel cause) have no characters to act, though they all refuse to acknowledge the fact. They never stop acting.

One finally suspects that Mr. Hudson actually photographed a four-hour film that he cut down to two hours-plus, which is not the way good movies are made. The characters played by Mr. Pacino and Miss Kinski fall desperately in love, but off-screen. That the English and Norwegian locations on which the film was shot sometimes don't look much like America is not crucially important.

However, one does wonder what's going on when, at Valley Forge, Miss Kinski coquettishly tells Mr. Pacino that since she's been in Philadelphia ("where I joined the patriots"), she's been learning how to sail on the Chesapeake Bay. Good grief! Has she been spending her weekends at the shore? I don't really mind that Mr. Hudson discovers flocks along the Hudson River, but I do worry about how Miss Kinski's Daisy McConahay dashes back and forth between Philadelphia and Annapolis for her sailing lessons.

The version of "Greystoke" that was put into theatrical release also suffered from what appeared to be awkward ellipses in the narrative, suggesting that Mr. Hudson had shot a much longer screenplay than could be gracefully edited into the film's final 129-minute running time. "Greystoke," however, worked so well as both an adventure and as a comedy of manners that one was always ready to forgive these ellipses. There are no such compensations in "Revolution."

It's sloppily written, edited and dubbed. Mr. Pacino's very first speech in the film is spoken as if he were a ventriloquist — through lips tightly sealed.



Al Pacino in Hugh Hudson's "Revolution"

ages as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and George Washington.

One of the camp classics of all time still is "John Paul Jones" (1959), with Robert Stack in the title role and an all-star supporting cast that included Bette Davis as Catherine of Russia, Charles Coburn as Benjamin Franklin, Jean-Pierre Aumont as Louis XVI and MacDonald Carey as Patrick Henry.

The only halfway decent movie I've ever seen about the Revolution is "1776," Peter Hunt's high-spirited, 1972 screen version of the Peter Stone-Sherman Edwards Broadway musical about the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. Movie audiences, however, were not overwhelmed. Not even an all-singing, all-dancing American Revolution could get them to the box office.

If, by some wild chance, Mr. Hudson's "Revolution" should become a hit in this country, it would support the view, held by some observers of the current scene, that the success of the "Rocky" and "Rambo" movies indicates a significant surge of patriotic sentiment among members of the ticket-buying public. It would also dispel the suspicion held by others, including me, that the success of these films has more to do with their mindless blood-and-guts violence than with their political sentiments, which, if they exist at all, are rather crazed.

"Revolution" is a movie that only the most unthinking and most tolerant of patriots could love. It's a huge disappointment, not only because it was directed by the man who made both "Chariots of Fire" and "Greyhound," the Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes, but because the story of the American Revolution is a great one, though still uncharted by film makers.

The initial idea seems promising — the American Revolution as seen through the eyes not of the landed gentry, the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia that led it, but of a so-called little guy, an economically desperate, illiterate, apolitical colonist who becomes politicized during the war it sounds promising. But, as written by Mr. Dillon ("The French Connection II") and "The River" and directed by Mr. Hudson, it's less involving and informative than a comic-book history.

Part of the problem may well be built into their approach to the subject. Though the military engagements were fought well and gallantly by ordinary American farmers,

Once More, the Revolution Taxes American Filmgoers

By VINCENT CANBY

The reporter for a large London weekly had called to discuss what he discreetly described as "the generally unfavorable notices" for Hugh Hudson's would-be epic about the American War of Independence, "Revolution," which had opened in New York on Christmas Day. "Is it possible," he asked, "that some people were offended by the fact that this American subject was made by an English director in England?"

I said that I didn't think that nationality entered into it. The star, after all, is Al Pacino, who's as American as fast food and no-cal pizza. The screenplay was written by another American, Robert Dillon, and it was produced by Irwin Winkler, whose Americanism will be forever certified by his association with "Rocky."

Most critics, I suggested, and probably 99 out of every hundred ticket buyers here couldn't care less where a movie was made or who had made it as long as the movie was halfway decent. "Have you seen it?" I asked. He said he had, though the film isn't opening in London until February. "Well," I said, "what do you think?"

Pause. "I thought the battle scenes were quite good."

He went on to report that the film had cost £25 million and that its box-office success was of crucial importance to a British company called Goldcrest — which is the sort of information that most reviewers try not to pay any attention to. We have to consider what's on the screen, not the possibility of investors losing their shirts.

"Perhaps," said the man in London, "there's some truth in the idea that Americans simply aren't very interested in the American Revolution, having had it drilled into them in school. They find it boring."

That's a distinct possibility, but the proposition has never been fairly tested. Very few films have ever been made about the American Revolution, and all of these have been either boring or downright awful. D. W. Griffith is not remembered for his "America" (1924), which, as Richard Schickel reports in his biography of Griffith, received decidedly mixed reviews. The film, however, did receive strong support in newspaper editorials, which, Mr. Schickel writes, made "America" sound as if it were "good for one, like medicine."

The Daily News editorialized, in part, "Some of the 'Intelligentsia' — of which clan, by the way, the Chicago youths Leopold and Loeb are members in good standing — will give no thanks to the picture. To them, any evidence of patriotism, of single loyalty to one's country, is merely evidence of mental weakness." The New York Commercial, a business paper, urged all delegates coming to the Democratic Party's nominating convention to see the film, which it saw as an answer to the "radicalism... gnawing at the very foundation of American institutions."

The highlights of "America" — reenactments of Paul Revere's ride and the Battle of Bunker Hill — were not enough, apparently, to sustain audience interest in a picture that initially ran longer than Griffith's "Intolerance." Frank Lloyd's "Howards of Virginia" (1940), shot in part in the reconstructed Williamsburg, Va., also did poorly in spite of a cast headed by Cary Grant and characters that included such historical person-

Arts & Leisure

the first of her two Oscars under his guidance in 1978's "Norma Rae"), but also with the husband-wife screenwriting team of Irving Ravetch and Harriet Frank Jr. The couple's long association with Mr. Ritt dates to "The Long Hot Summer" in 1958, and includes their Oscar-nominated screenplays for "Hud" and "Norma Rae."

"There's a shorthand of communication that way," Mr. Ritt noted. "I don't have to say much to the Ravetches or Sally. If I tell them I don't like this scene, they almost always know what exactly I don't like."

Besides, Mr. Ritt said, laughing, he and Mr. Ravetch, who is also in his 70's, took special delight from making a love story in which the older man triumphs. "The fact that Garner's character is in control was very pleasurable to both of us," he said. "The character is very much like us."

As co-producer — along with a new production company owned by Miss Field — of "Murphy's Romance," Mr. Ritt had a battle with the sponsoring studio, Columbia Pictures, over the casting of Mr. Garner.

"There was resistance to him," Mr. Ritt conceded. "A lot of exhibitors didn't want him." Columbia did not perceive the amiable, 57-year-old Mr. Garner, who has made many films but is best known as a television star, as a strong box-office draw. "But this part is for him. Jim is Murphy."

Mr. Ritt, saying he is accustomed to fighting with studios over casting, recalled his battle to give the title role in "Norma Rae" to Miss Field — who was long shackled to her fluff-headed television identity as "Gidget" and "The Flying Nun."

"The studio said we were risking a lot of money on her. But I wanted that kind of feisty little girl who would defend her kids with every drop of blood, somebody Middle America could relate to." The studio, 20th Century-Fox, ultimately gave in.

"I've won 90 percent of those arguments," Mr. Ritt said. "I'm very good at spotting people, and if I feel a person's going to be good, hell and high water will not get me off it."

In the 1950's, Mr. Ritt gave starring film roles to a pair of little-known former students of his from the Actors' Studio — Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward. "Paul had a kind of cool sexuality, and we sensed it," Mr. Ritt recalled. A decade-plus later, with

"Sounder," he cast the then-unknown Cicely Tyson and Paul Winfield.

Even if he has boosted an ample number of careers and rarely lacked for critical esteem, Mr. Ritt has maintained one of Hollywood's lowest profiles. In three decades of film directing, he has been nominated for an Oscar only once (in 1963, for "Hud"); he lost to Tony Richardson, the director of "Tom Jones").

Yet he denied feeling unappreciated in Hollywood. "I make the kind of films that not too many people get to make in this town," Mr. Ritt said. "I have been able to make almost any film I really wanted to make, though sometimes I've had to take the risks myself."

To make both "Sounder," a story of black sharecroppers during the Depression, and "Norma Rae," about the struggle to unionize a Southern cotton mill, Mr. Ritt said, he and most of the principals worked for far less than their normal salaries, in exchange for a percentage of any profits. While neither film was a box-office smash, both ultimately proved very profitable.

"I actually think I made more money on 'Sounder' than any other film I've ever worked on," he said. "We made that film for about a million bucks."

Although he has had his share of critical failures, according to Mr. Ritt only one of his films ("The Molly Maguires" in 1969) "has lost a bundle." Which might explain why studios have continued to finance his low-key projects.

"They know I'm a guy who doesn't waste money, and who brings a picture in on time," Mr. Ritt said. "Murphy's Romance" took 55 days to shoot and cost about \$11.5 million, "the bottom in today's market," he said.

"So they let me make 'em. I never believed they'd let me make 'The Front' in this town. This is a town that was vengeful during that time, really vengeful. But I made it."

"The Front," which starred Woody Allen, was for a number of participants a very personal evocation of America's political witch hunts of the 1950's. Mr. Ritt, the screenwriter Walter Bernstein, and four of the actors — including the co-stars Zero Mostel and Herschel Bernardi — were among the many writers, actors and directors who were blacklisted from film and television work during that period for supposedly having Communist sympathies.

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FEATURES

Blocking a rejection

By ILAN CHAIM / Jerusalem Post Reporter

SEVEN WOMEN who have had repeated abortions are again pregnant and are now expected to deliver healthy babies. They are the first habitual aborters in Israel to benefit from a new immunization technique that enables their bodies to respond normally to their husbands' sperm.

The women are part of a group of 20 participating in a pilot project at the Habitual Abortion Clinic at Tel Hashomer's Sheba Hospital. The clinic, headed by Dr. Howard Carp, a gynecologist and lecturer at Tel Aviv University, pioneered the immunization technique in Israel about six months ago.

"About 1 per cent of women who conceive are habitual aborters," Carp said in a recent interview. "These are women who have at least three abortions in a row. About 60 per cent of them abort because they have a form of allergy to their husbands. Specifically, we'd say that they are unable to respond to their husbands' tissue, namely the sperm."

Carp explained that in a normal pregnancy, the woman's body "recognizes" the fetus as a foreign object due to the immune response mechanism, but then blocks its rejection. In the case of habitual abort-

ers, their antigen makeup is thought to be so close to that of their husbands that this recognition cannot occur, and the fetus is aborted - time after time.

In order to make habitual aborters develop the normal immune response and accompanying blocking-antibodies to their husbands' tissue, the researchers developed an inoculation much like that for German measles. The white blood cells are extracted from 50 cubic centimetres of the husband's blood and injected under the skin of the wife's arm.

"There is a slight, itching discomfort, which lasts a day or so," said Carp. "But it's no more disagreeable than any other allergy shot." The immunization treatment consists of two shots, a month apart. When the woman conceives, the shots are repeated once a month until the woman has passed her individual "danger time," the times when her habitual abortions have usually occurred.

Of the seven pregnant women at the Sheba clinic, said Carp, five have passed the critical stage of their previous abortions. "And so far all seven fetuses are displaying normal heartbeats on ultrasound examination," he added. The remaining 13

women in the pilot project have been immunized and are trying to become pregnant - this time with every reason to hope their pregnancies will come to term.

Israel is now one of four countries treating habitual aborters by immunization. The U.S. and the UK each have two habitual abortion centres, Japan and Sweden each have one.

Carp, who immigrated here with his family from London 10 years ago, says that the British clinics report a 75 per cent success rate with the treatment in bringing pregnancies to term. "We have seen 115 patients at Sheba so far," said Carp. "In England they've treated 300 and have 500 on the waiting list, with many more than that expected to apply as the technique becomes more widely known."

The pilot project at Sheba is being conducted with the permission of the Helsinki Committee as a clinical trial on humans of an innovative technique. Under Health Ministry regulations, the inoculations may be given only to women who have had at least three abortions in a row. The ministry also requires the husband's blood to be tested for AIDS antibodies, although Carp pointed out that "the



(David Ben-Zur)

husband's blood undergoes the same stringent safeguards as for any transfusion."

One important by-product of the habitual aborter research is the discovery last year that from 5 to 10 per cent of habitual aborters - above the 60 per cent who are allergic to their husbands - have an anti-body problem in the placenta related to lupus disease. This anti-body causes clotting in the placenta, which causes the fetus to abort usually in the second

trimester of pregnancy. "We've had good results in bringing this antibody level down," said Carp.

Once the Sheba clinic's project is officially completed with the imminent publication of its results, it will formally open to the public. However, notes Carp, the clinic already is "available to all suitable habitual aborters, and the treatment is covered by regular health fund insurance."

In the Supreme Court sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeals before the President, Justice Meir Shamgar, in the matter of Meir Peretz, appellant, versus the State of Israel, respondent (Cr.A. 520/85).

THE APPELLANT was convicted in the district court of drug offences. The court then heard evidence on the question of sentence, but postponed its decision to enable the appellant to bring additional evidence in his favour. Before the hearing was resumed, the appellant's counsel opened the court file to examine some documents and found a draft already prepared by the judge of part of his decision on the question of sentence. An application to the judge to disqualify himself from completing the case having been dismissed, the appellant appealed to the president of the Supreme Court.

The president, in his decision, cited the principles laid down by him in a similar case, Cr.A. 633/83. In that instance, the prosecution had

Before all the evidence is in...

LAW REPORT / Asher Felix Landau

declined to disclose to the accused certain information in the police file on the grounds of privilege. After part of the case had been heard, the High Court of Justice ordered the prosecution to disclose the information. The accused then applied to the judges trying him to disqualify themselves on the ground that the non-disclosure of the information constituted a serious procedural flaw in their trial, in consequence of which the judges had heard part of the evidence without reference to the information now disclosed. It was therefore improper, they argued, for

the same judges to continue to hear the case.

The application was dismissed, and the accused appealed. Justice Shamgar, in dismissing the appeal, then dealt with the principles applying to the disqualification of a judge under section 146 of the Criminal Procedure Law (Consolidated Version) of 1982. The basis for disqualification, he said, was bias either by reason of an opinion the judge had formed beforehand or by reason of a conflict of interests. A decision to disqualify was not to be taken before the other party had been

heard. Not only was the judge precluded from reaching a final decision before weighing all the evidence before him, but he was required to refrain from expressing any opinion from which it could be inferred that he had already made up his mind; so that any effort by a party to present a different point of view would be of no avail. Justice must not only be done, but must also be seen to be done.

ANOTHER factor to be considered was the strength of the evidence that the judge was biased. The subjective feeling of a party was not sufficient; the evidence must show a real possibility of bias on the part of the judge.

Justice Shamgar then held, in Cr.A. 633/83, that the fact that the judges had already heard part of the evidence before the information which the prosecution had withheld was revealed, did not show that they were biased. It was only natural, and indeed inevitable, for a judge to form an initial impression of the witnesses appearing before him in

the course of a trial. The rights of the accused, however, were ensured by the judge's awareness of the rule that he may only reach his final decision after hearing and considering all the evidence in the case.

For the above reasons, the appeal in Cr.A. 633/83 was dismissed. In the present case, however, Justice Shamgar pointed out that in the draft prepared before all the evidence on the question of sentence had been heard, the judge had already described the seriousness of the offence committed by the appellant. In these circumstances, and in the light of the principles laid down in Cr.A. 633/83, the appeal would be allowed and the case remitted to the district court for reconsideration of the question of sentence by another judge, who would be entitled to rehear the evidence and arguments already heard in that regard.

Advocate Meir Ziv appeared for the appellant, and Advocate Haim Liran, senior assistant state attorney, for the state. Judgment given on November 11, 1985.

SOMEBODY once remarked that so long as you must sin, it is more fun on the whole to sin by commission than by omission. He might have added that it's easier too, for one of the greatest strains on human nature is to omit doing something when every nerve in one's body tingles with the urge to do it.

The best known instance of this is the don't-look-now injunction. Your first impulse on told not to look is to look. This is not as surprising as it may sound, because it generally comes with such titillating information as: "Don't look now, but the man who just entered is that famous spy I told you about." From here on you'll have to fight a major battle with yourself to keep your head from turning, and after five minutes of it your whole body will be absolutely

Urge scourge

RANDOMALIA Miriam Arad

rigid with the strain. Your partner, to save your sanity, may adopt the alternative of telling you after you have left the place: "Did you notice that tall man in grey with the dark glasses? He's that famous spy..." In which case, ungrateful wretch that you are, you'll probably say: "Stupid! Now you tell me!"

ANOTHER item in the not-looking category is not turning to the last page of a book to see who done it, or

whether Fanny will get her Edmund. Some people consider this cheating and feel oddly guilty about it, but I say, go ahead and look. The only one who might be offended is the author, and who's going to tell him?

Not to look is quite as hard as to refrain from giving help where help isn't wanted. It requires a superhuman effort for a man to stand idly by when a woman is changing a burnt lamp or tightening a screw, and not say, "Here, let me do that," or even

offer his advice. It's not unlike watching a small child struggle with a shoelace and not let it for him when your hands are itching to. Sit on your hands, is my advice, or go for a walk.

Speaking of itching, who hasn't done battle with the natural urge to scratch? Similarly, there is the fearful temptation of a healing sore that has formed a scab. Why it should be that man can't wait for scabs to fall off on their own accord is an interesting question in itself.

KEEPING your mouth shut isn't easy either. Speech is silver, as the proverb goes, silence is torment. Examples? To kiss and not tell; to forbear from passing on a juicy bit of gossip, from airing your wisdom after the event, from saying "I told you so." To avoid interrupting a slow

speaker, or completing a stutterer's sentences for him. Not to say triumphantly: "Ah! You always tell me I don't turn off the tap properly, and look who's left it dripping now!" To avoid telling a marvellous joke because you know you're a bad joke-teller and always either omit some crucial piece of information ("Oh, I should have said: this other guy was a Frenchman") or make a long spiel of it and then forget the point.

It seems not just difficult but plain impossible to refrain from overeating. Many is the weightwatcher I have watched, and though some have stuck it out for three days, and others for as long as a month, I have yet to meet one who didn't sooner or later succumb to a slice of cake, I often suspect Eve ate her apple after a week's diet of lettuce and leben.

THE ISRAELI SINFONETTA, BEERSHEVA, Sidney Harth conducting; with Yehuda Hanani, cello (Kfar Sava Cultural Centre, January 8); Bach: Violin Concerto in A minor; Haydn: Symphony No. 104; Beethoven: Cello Concerto in B flat; Prokofiev: Classical Symphony.

THIS EVENT was ambiguous in its presentation and effect. Conductor and soloist performed with total dedication to their *metier* and full identification with the music, but the results did not entirely conform with these positive qualities.

Sidney Harth's performance of the Bach concerto was showy, one might even say, flashy, but his failure to give full value to all the short notes in the quick-runs and his unsystematic phrasing left one listener wondering

Undercut effort

MUSIC

where our friend Sidney Harth is going.

Yehuda Hanani attacked the Boccherini - one of the most treacherously difficult works of its kind - with vigour and energy. This resulted in impressive intonation and praiseworthy attack on the technical problems in the high register; but on the whole it was a rather uncouth, if not downright brutal presentation of this

musically quite harmless and lovable piece of Baroque music. Exuberance may be an explanation, but it cannot be used as an excuse. Hanani is an extremely gifted artist who may profit by cooling down his too showy stagecraft and allowing music to display its own merits.

The two symphonies were led by Sidney Harth with obvious craftsmanship and thorough knowledge of the requirements of the scores. But here again, too much showmanship and the stressing of details with exaggerated plastic movements spoiled one's appreciation of the presentation as a whole. A little cultural refinement and polish would have enhanced the lovely music tremendously, and done more credit to the conductor. The real success of the evening was the Israel Sinfonietta which was in excellent form.

YOHANAN BOEHM

tainment. Written in 1976, the short melodious pieces of various elements, including jazz, express the composer's dedication to the fact that he wanted to know how "our European sentimentality was going in 1976 Jerusalem." The musicians handled the intricacies of the modern composition with ease.

The Mozart Piano Quartet was presented with textual accuracy, facility and elegance. Prina Salzman brought to her important part pianistic polish and vigour. Throughout the evening, the musicians demonstrated unanimity in approach in their good teamwork.

Best was the competent rendition of the Brahms Second Piano Quartet. The performance had intensity, expressiveness, equilibrium and a sense of proportion. Apart from the excellent piano part, there were good solos on violin and cello. Moshe Murwitz's uncontentious leadership was efficient and effective, earning him a well-deserved popularity with the audience.

In all, a cultivated and enjoyable chamber music concert.

ESTHER REUTER

ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA: Myun Whun Chung conducting with Emanuel Ax, piano (Mitsun Auditorium, Tel Aviv January 7). Isang Yun (b.1917): "Fluctuations" for orchestra (1964); Beethoven: Piano Concerto No.4 in G major; Dvorak: Symphony No.6 in D major.

MYUN WHUN CHUNG deserves full praise for making us acquainted

with a composition by a fellow Korean, Isang Yun, though the work did not much please. *Fluctuations*, though supposedly combining musical traditions of the Far East and advanced Western techniques, and thus offering local colour and originality, simply reminded us of many works produced by Western composers. Isang's work is based almost only on sound *per se* and without striking additional ideas seemed a not too convincing replica of what Ligeti, Penderecki and others have done with much more talent. Emanuel Ax in Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto demonstrated the tremendous change he has undergone since 1975, when he won the first prize in the First Rubinstein International Master Piano Competition. He has completely lost his harshness, and his touch has become extremely flexible, adjustable to the text. He has also developed an undeniable poetical sense. Though he did not reach the heights of spiritual beauty, allowing the heavenly middle movement to remain earthbound, his performance as a whole was no mean achievement.

Myun closed the programme with an IPO first performance of Dvorak's Symphony No.6. I have heard all of Mr. Chung's programmes, and there can be no doubt that the Dvorak Symphony was, as interpretation, his most successful undertaking.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

Fool's gold or a prize idea?

By AARON LEIBEL / For The Jerusalem Post

IT IS five o'clock Tuesday afternoon. The sign on the door of the Bulei Zahav (Golden Stamps) redemption centre in Jerusalem's Chai Centre clearly states that the store is closed Tuesday evenings. Yet, scores of persistent Jerusalemites, each clutching books of trading stamps, try to enter and must be coaxed away from the locked door by staff members.

Perhaps, they were drawn by the square, orange and yellow signs, strung by string from the store's ceiling and visible through the big, glass display windows, proclaiming: "Fantastic gifts, free."

Or they might have flocked to the centre following the new company's advertising campaign, which resulted, according to the firm's president Yisrael Stern, in a 75 per cent awareness rate of the trading stamps by Jerusalemites. If so, that would seem to be a realization of the promise implied by the name of Bulei Zahav's parent company, Shiyuk Agresivi (Aggressive Marketing) also headed by Stern.

But the real answer may lie in the character of the average Israeli, Stern explained. "Israelis love presents. On the other hand, they do not trust sales campaigns. If you give a 50 per cent reduction, most Israelis think that the price has first been doubled and then lowered by 50 per cent to bring it back just where it was."

AFTER FOUNDED Shiyuk Agresivi last year, Stern and his partner, Ronnie Arieli, went on a tour to see what marketing techniques work abroad. In every place they travelled in the Western world, they came upon trading stamps. Although conceding that stamps are on the decline in the U.S., Stern says they had 16 years of unparalleled success there. America's experience and Israel's weakness for gifts convinced him that the idea would work here.

Bulei Zahav began operating in Jerusalem last month. Stern originally signed up 40 companies for a one-month trial. The trial campaign was so successful (50 per cent of the firms have agreed to continue for another month, including all the large companies) that the trading stamps are to make their debut in Tel Aviv in February. Eventually, Stern hopes to have Israelis from Haifa to Eilat licking his golden stamps.

GIVING trading stamps to customers costs the participating companies \$400 per month ("very little money," says Stern) plus 15 new agorot for each stamp. Each firm determines how many stamp-points it gives customers for each purchase. Each stamp is worth 15 new agorot at

the redemption centre. During my visit, many shelves were bare. This lack of products, Stern explained, was caused by the hundreds of gift-seekers who had descended upon the store the day before. (Between 2,000 and 2,500 Jerusalemites come to the redemption centre each day.)

The shelves that were still stocked seemed to contain primarily toys and crayons, popular among gift-seekers. Stern, however, hopes to get more expensive items in the future.

Last month's most expensive gift was an electric organ, which cost 1,900 points. One popular item was a home telephone, which went for 275 stamp-points. Even those who came to the redemption centre with only one point did not go away disappointed. They got an eraser or a cheap pen.

TRADING STAMPS went out of style in the U.S. in the 1970s due to a higher level of consumer-consciousness among inflation-plagued Americans, who were convinced that trading stamps only added to the cost of their purchases. But Stern is sure that golden stamps will not push up prices.

In America, he explained, there were many big concerns, all of which gave away stamps sold by different stamp companies. No one had a marketing advantage and prices rose. In Israel, on the other hand, the number of large concerns is limited. He hopes to sign up most of the larger companies, giving them a marketing edge on their rivals, and allowing them to pay for the stamps through increased business. This, in turn, would make the formation of rival trading stamp companies, which he concedes might cause price hikes, unlikely.

Miriam Whartman, of the Histadrut's Consumer Protection Authority, is more restrained in her evaluation of trading stamps. She told *The Jerusalem Post* that her organization is investigating Bulei Zahav, and until that check is completed, she could not comment on this particular company. She did say that in general, she prefers that customers get the cheapest prices possible, rather than be lured by lotteries, gifts or other gimmicks. If the gifts were free and prices did not go up, she would not object, but she finds it difficult to believe "this would happen."

Whatever the doubts of consumer advocates, if Bulei Zahav's first month is any indication, trading stamps may well become a permanent part of Israeli marketing. The lure of "free" gifts may be too difficult to overcome.

The World Zionist Organization
Information Department

The Government Press Office
- World Union of Jewish Journalists

International Colloquium of the Jewish Press

January 14 - 16, 1986

Programme

Tuesday, January 14
4.30 p.m.
5.00-6.30 p.m.

President's Residence - Reception
Opening Session - Chair and opening remarks:
Uzi Narkiss
Greetings: Teddy Kollek, Arye L. Dulzin,
Isak Warsawski, Israel Peleg, Norman Podhoretz
Address: President of the State of Israel
Chaim Herzog

6.45-8.00 p.m.
8.00-9.30 p.m.

Van Leer Institute
Buffet reception given by Arye L. Dulzin
Address: Prime Minister Shimon Peres
Chair: Dov Judkovsky, "Yediot Aharonot"
Introduction: Israel Peleg

Wednesday, January 15

8.30-11.00 a.m.

Van Leer Institute
"The State of Jewish Journalism Today"
- a situation report
Chair: Gershom Schocken, "Ha'aretz"
Report by Overseas Journalists
Lectures: Conon Cruise O'Brien
Chair: Yehoshua Rothenshtreich

11.30-12.30 p.m.

2.00-3.00 p.m.

Address: Alkiva Levinsky, Treasurer, WZO
Chair: Robert Levinsky, Amsterdam
Address: Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin
Chair: Tony Lerman, London
Round table discussion: "The Press and the Preservation of the Jewish People"
Chair: Erwin Frankel, "The Jerusalem Post"
Participants: Norman Podhoretz, Hanna Zamer,
Victor Malka, Itai Treguerman
Reception at Beit Agon
Greetings: Israel Peleg, Mordechai Zanin,
Roman Frister

3.00 p.m.

4.30-6.30 p.m.

8.00 p.m.

Thursday, January 16

8.15-9.15 a.m.

Van Leer Institute
Address: Yitzhak Navon, Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister of Education
Chair: Orna Stoller, Buenos Aires
"The Relationship Between the Press
and the Community"
Chair: Norman Podhoretz
Panel: Overseas journalists
Followed by discussion
Address: Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yitzhak Shamir
Chair: Moshe Ishon, "Hatzofeh"
Lecture: Yvan Levai "Europe 1", Paris
Chair: Ari Rabin, "The Jerusalem Post"
Coffee break

9.15-11.30 a.m.

12.00-1.00 p.m.

2.00-3.00 p.m.

3.00 p.m.

3.30-4.30 p.m.

4.30-5.30 p.m.

5.30 p.m.

6.30-7.00 p.m.

8.30 p.m.

The new electronic Israel News Service
Presentation: Mordechai Zilka, Israel Peleg
Lecture: Daniel Schorr, Washington
Chair: Ido Dismantchik, "Ma'ariv"
Closing session: Resolutions
Concluding remarks: Arye L. Dulzin
Summation: Uzi Narkiss
Closing festive reception, hosted by Alkiva Levinsky

BY INVITATION ONLY

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By David Longman

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The Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
The Norbert Eliezer Chair in Jewish Values
The Hubert Humphrey Centre for Social Ecology

WINTER CONFERENCE

JUDAISM AND ECONOMY

Tuesday, January 14, 1986, 4 Shvat 5746, New Campus,
Building Zayin, Room 210
Opening Session - 9.00 a.m.

Eliyahu Nawi, Mayor of Beersheba; Prof. Yehuda Gradus, Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, BGU; Norbert Eliezer, Founder, Chair in Jewish Values at BGU; Rabbi She'ar Yashuv Cohen, Chief Rabbi of Haifa; Professor Pinchas Fell, Incumbent of Eliezer Chair in Jewish Values, BGU.

Participants:
Shimon Avissar, Head, Department of Higher Education, Israel Federation of Labour; Dov Halperin, former Income Tax Commissioner; Prof. Oded Hochman, Department of Economics, BGU; Rabbi Ellyahu Katz, Chief Rabbi of Beersheba; Dr. Fred Laxia, Humphrey Centre for Social Ecology, BGU; Eli Moyal, former Knesset member; Arish Reiter, Mirzahi Bank, Beersheba; Michael Shkabar, tax officer, Beersheba; Dr. Meir Tamari, Bank of Israel.

The public is invited.

MARKET PLACE

AVI TEMKIN

Think Big is dead

By AVI TEMKIN

The dinosaur era in Israel came to an end when the cabinet yesterday decided to adopt the recommendations of a report by former Bank of Israel governor Arnon Gafni regarding a new coal port. Beyond the immediate implications of the report, the document makes it clear that in future it will be difficult for anybody to propose "dinosaurs," i.e. huge and costly projects that are ill-adapted to economic realities.

Gafni's recommendations are simple. To unload the coal Israel needs it is not necessary to build new costly new ports. It will be enough to use Pier 9 in Ashdod port and to improve it at minimal cost. Such apparently innocuous advice could in fact spell the end of a way of thinking that has cost the country billions of dollars.

Back in the early Seventies, it was fashionable for every organization to build a monument to its own greatness. University professors wanted and got a new campus on Mount Scopus, the defense ministry wanted and got a new tank and its own fighter plane, and the Israel Shipyard wanted to build ships for civilian use, rather than merely repairing boats for the navy.

When the Likud came into office nothing changed. The Lavi was approved, the Med-Dead-Sea project was planned. The economic upheavals of 1984 did not affect this attitude. Thus Prime Minister Shimon Peres as recently as some months ago still talked about building atomic power stations. And there was even talk about building submarines.

Thus when the need for coal unloading facilities arose, nothing was more natural than to fall back on the "Think Big" mentality. It is this kind of solution that the Gafni report has ruled out.

Its recommendations in fact contradict a decision taken barely six weeks ago by the Ministerial Economic Committee, namely, to build a new port in Ashdod.

The problem with which the report deals is a new power station being built south of Ashdod, which will become fully operational in 1990. In the future two more such units will be built. Thus by 1990 Israel will need facilities to unload 6.5 million tons of coal a year. The existing facilities in Hadera can handle half that amount.

Pretty soon the Ports Authority was recommending the construction of a brand-new port in Ashdod, as the best way of solving the problem. A committee appointed in 1982 recommended this solution in February 1985 on condition that Israel dispose of the necessary resources.

In the eyes of the authorities this condition was no obstacle. In fact, the Ports Authority had been profitable for years, and had built up reserves of some \$470 million. From these it reckoned it could spend \$240m. on special projects.

What the authority was ignoring was that the recommendation of the committee referred to the state of the entire economy, not only to the finances of the Ports Authority. The Gafni report approved yesterday states clearly that the capacity of the existing ports is sufficient to handle all the coal which will have to be imported.

Moreover, Gafni hinted that the Ports Authority was looking for a reason to build a new port and thus expand its power. According to some calculations the new port in Ashdod could cost \$145 to \$180 million.

But not only the authority was busy drawing up plans for a new port. Some politicians and government officials started to talk about building the facilities at Eilat or Haifa. The debate seemingly came to an end in November, when the Ministerial Economic Committee adopted the authority's view. It was then that the prime minister thought it appropriate to ask Gafni for a report.

Six weeks later Gafni came up with the logical solution that Pier 9 could be adapted to do the job at an investment of only \$46 million, less than a third of the cost of building the new Ashdod North port.

Formally, the report states that in the long run unloading facilities will have to be established in Haifa, Eilat and Ashdod, but in the next 5 to 8 years, there is no pressing need to embark on costly projects.

When Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman hinted at the cabinet meeting yesterday that a similar line of action could still be applied to the Lavi project, he was driving home the most important conclusion to be drawn from Gafni's report. The "Think Big" era is dead.

In terse statement founder says he's selling his shares

The Proppers pull out of Osem

By MACABEE DEAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — The Propper Family, whose 17.5 per cent share of Osem Food Industries makes them the largest single stockholders, announced yesterday that they were selling their shares.

The founder and chairman of the board of directors, Eugene Propper, also announced his resignation, effective last Friday. His two sons, Dan and Gad, joint managing directors, announced their resignation, which was submitted in September 1985, would take effect at the end of March.

The announcement said that their resignations were due to "the change in the composition of the board of directors in the last few years, following the admission of a new gen-

eration to the board, which created sharp differences of approach, a change in principles, and clashes of opinion between the Propper family and the newcomers."

All efforts to come to an understanding with the new board members failed, and lately the polarization between the two factions had grown deeper on matters of principle, it was said.

The Propper Family said that a formal statement by the board itself would be released in a few days. They refused to comment further.

However, the statement did note that the Osem group was in healthy financial condition, profitable, continuously developing and investing, and expanding its markets.

A new plant is scheduled to be opened soon in Sderot, and export

markets are being expanded, especially in England, the U.S. and Canada.

The announcement stressed the sorrow felt by the family on having to leave the workers who had faithfully served the company for decades.

The firm, which now consists of eight plants, was founded by Eugene Propper in 1942, three years after he arrived here from Czechoslovakia. Propper, who is 74, is personally acquainted with many of his 1,800 employees.

His sons, Dan and Gad, joined the firm 19 and 15 years ago, respectively, and were active in the Manufacturers' Association.

It is learned that Koor Foods is interested in buying the shares now becoming available.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices

General Share Index	99.98	+0.63%
Non-Bank Index	99.98	+0.38%
Arrangement	99.98	+0.38%
Insurance	99.98	+0.73%
Commerce, Services	101.63	+1.86%
Real Estate	103.55	+1.90%
Investment Cos.	101.44	+1.01%
Industrial	100.20	+0.80%
Textiles	101.89	+1.68%
Metals	97.25	-0.22%
Electronics	98.27	+0.66%
Chemicals	101.21	+0.80%
Industrial Invest.	99.62	+0.05%
General Bond Index	99.63	+0.03%
Index-linked Bonds	99.97	+0.03%
Fully-linked	100.55	+0.21%
Partially-linked	99.80	-0.49%
Dollar-linked Bonds	98.25	+0.02%
Short-term 0-2	99.61	-0.07%
Medium-term 2-5	99.61	+0.10%
Long-term 5+	99.00	-0.85%

Turnovers:

Shares—total	NIS 3,185,500
Arrangement	NIS 1,294,700
Non-bank	NIS 1,294,700
Bonds—total	NIS 3,937,500
Index-linked	NIS 1,859,500
Dollar-linked	NIS 1,378,000
Treasury Bills	NIS 2,035,200

Share Movements:

Advances	204 (122)
Declines	60 (37)
Unchanged	10 (9)
Declines of which 5%+	83 (160)
Advances of which 5%+	16 (27)
Unchanged of which 5%+	3 (1)
Trading Halt	53 (48)

Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked	3% fully-linked
4.25% fully-linked	—
80% linked	—
90% linked	—
Double-linked	Mainly rise to 3%
Dollar-linked	—
Admon	Firm
Rimon	Quite firm
Gilboa	Falls to 2%, rises to 1%
For. Curr. denominated	Falls to 1%
Treasury Bills (monthly yield)	2.02-2.3%

Arrangement yields:	
IDS ord.	13.21%
Union 0.1	13.18%
T.A.T. 1	13.29%
Discount 1	13.27%
Mizrahi 1	13.27%
Hapoalim 1	13.54%
General A	13.27%
Lumi stock	13.34%
Fin. Trade 1	11.94%

SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
Maritime 1	800	1186	+4.4
First Int'l	2415	1039	+2.8
Pirat	2490	1042	+1.0

Name	Price	Volume	%
Union 0.1	78140	98	—
Discount	58700	48	-0.0
Mizrahi	31200	197	—
Hapoalim 1	81300	289	+0.2
General A	132000	2	+0.4
Leumi 0.1	32700	74	+1.1
Fin. Trade	45000	—	—

Name	Price	Volume	%
Leumi Mort.	3480	33	+2.7
Dev. Mort.	795	331	+7.4
Mishkan 1	1700	125	-3.4
Tefahot 1	11540	59	+8.0
Mervar 1	1889	240	+10.0

Name	Price	Volume	%
Agria C.	25000	3	+4.8
Ind. Dev. DD	no trading	—	—
Cit. Lending 0.1	4340	49	+3.6

Name	Price	Volume	%
Ararat 0.1 r	3086	364	-2.5
Haasney 1	no trading	—	—
Phoenix 0.1	no trading	—	—
Hamishmar	4450	—	—
Memorah 1	6059	15	-1.0
Sahar 1	2595	55	+3.0
Zion Hold. 1	6700	10	—

Name	Price	Volume	%
Mairi Eran	3790	80	+5.0
Supersol 2	4000	95	—
Delek 1	3690	1794	+2.8
Lighterage	9810	57	-1.0
Cold Storage	830	222	-1.4
Den Hotel	3670	80	+2.2
Yarden Hotel	1860	115	+3.3
Hilon 1	5300	—	—
Team 1	1430	590	+4.4

Name	Price	Volume	%
Azornim	2510	1576	+4.1
Elion	980	888	-1.0
Africa Lar. 0.1	30500	29	+1.4
Dankner	2750	82	-8.8
Prop. & Bldg.	3755	337	+1.6
Savide 0.1	6220	156	+3.7
ILDC 1	24200	149	+0.8
Rasoco 1	1940	418	+7.8
Mehadrin	11270	149	+4.8
Hodirim	1700	611	+1.8

Name	Price	Volume	%
Dubek 1	2380	338	+1.3
Pr-Za 1	4102	745	+2.5
Sunfist	5210	107	+2.2
Elita	9800	10	+2.1
Adgar	572	985	+10.0
Argaman 1	3830	10	+2.7
Dafin G 1	8100	221	—
Miquelet 1	20595	4	—
Eagle 1	5380	14	+2.0
Polgat 0.1	7470	149	+1.4
Schoelertine	8635	6	—
Rosol	3920	295	+6.8
Urion 0.1 r	12050	88	-1.0
Is. Can. Co. 1	670	180	+0.4
Zion Cable	2170	800	+4.4
Pedder Steel	5482	100	+0.0
Elbit 3 r	416500	23	+1.1

Name	Price	Volume	%
Elion	400500	7	—
Art	38050	45	+3.3
Cit. Electronics	2380	540	—
Spectronix 1	1480	804	-1.3
T.A.T. 1	2380	60	+2.7
Admon 1	835	484	+10.0
Agan 5	15010	5	—
Alliance	775	68	+8.3
Daxter	2900	—	—
Fenitex	10300	58	+6.8
Haifa Chem.	535	2110	+1.2
Teva r	49538	35	—
Dead Sea r	12560	871	+1.1
Petrochem.	281	2801	—
Neca Chem.	3400	47	+8.5
Frutaron	6200	10	-5.8
Hadera Paper	121800	41	—
Central Paper	5170	138	—
Central p	42500	58	-1.2
Cit. Inds.	1172	10078	—

Name	Price	Volume	%
IDB Dev. r	2826	2826	+1.8
Elion	1800	200	+2.9
Art 1	624	398	-0.9
Gahulet	1315	—	—
Israel Corp. 1	3013	b.o. 1	+8.0
Wolfson 1 r	58900	—	—
Hapoalim Inv.	4165	100	+2.5
Leumi Invest.	3890	272	+3.5
Discount Invest.	3750	1004	+0.3
Mizrahi Invest.	8200	45	+1.6
Cit. 10	1985	629	—
Landeco 0.1	6040	1	—
Panna 0.1	5900	75	-0.8

Name	Price	Volume	%
Paz Oil Expl.	10500	39	4095.0
J.O.E.L.	1300	375	4875.0

Name	Price	Volume	%
Oil Exploration	10500	39	4095.0
Paz Oil Expl.	1300	375	4875.0

Name	Price	Volume	%
Oil Exploration	10500	39	4095.0
Paz Oil Expl.	1300	375	4875.0

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Paz Oil Expl.	1300	375	4875.0

Israel Money Markets

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES

PRIME BORROWING RATE: 21.5% per month
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	LAST UPDATED	TAPAS	PAKAM 7-DAY	PAKAM 30-DAY
LEUMI	10.1	12-25%	12-25%	12-25%
HAPOLIM	9.1	15-25%	20-25%	21-25%
DISCOUNT	9.1	14-25%	15-25%	16-27%
FRANCO	9.1	12-15%	12-25%	12-24%
FIRST INT'L	9.1	16-30%	20-25%	26-28%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.
(Tapes: demand deposit paying daily interest;
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 59 days.)

PATAH FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (as of January 9)

	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD	7.375	7.375	7.375
STG	11.500	11.500	11.375
DMK	4.900	4.125	4.125
SFR	3.375	3.375	3.375
YEN	5.000	4.875	4.875

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES	BANK OF ISRAEL Representative Rates
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	1.4793 1.4977	1.46 1.53	1.486
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	2.1664 2.1834	2.13 2.24	2.183
GERMANY	MARK	1.6068 1.6143	60 63	6107
FRANCE	FRANC	1.976 2.001	19 20	1988
HOLLAND	GULDEN	1.5384 1.5451	53 56	5470
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	1.7136 1.7225	70 74	7192
SWEDEN	KRONA	1.1956 1.1980	19 20	1970
NORWAY	KRONE	1.1867 1.1991	19 20	1981
DENMARK	KRONE	1.661 1.683	16 17	1672
FINLAND	MARK	1.2746 1.2780	27 28	2756
CANADA	DOLLAR	1.0618 1.0750	1.05 1.10	1.0382
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	1.0268 1.0324	98 108	1.0336
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	1.6357 1.6335	52 57	5287
INDONESIA	RUPIAH	2.921 2.958	29 30	2987
INDONESIA	SCHILLING	1.8626 1.8733	85 87	8690
ITALY	LIRE	1.8885 1.8995	87 92	8951
JAPAN	YEN	7.327 7.418	72 75	7377
JORDAN	DINAR	—	3.93 4.17	3.9632
EGYPT	POUND	—	63 68	6714

(Supplied by Bank Leumi Leisrael)

European Financial Markets

Precious Metals

GOLD:	LONDON	A.M. FIX	339.45	P.M. FIX	340.45
	PARIS	NOON FIX	339.40	ZURICH P.M.	340.25
SILVER:	LONDON	FIX	611.00		
PALADIUM:	LONDON	P.M.	364.25		
PALLADIUM:	LONDON	P.M.	103.75		

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The blank screen

TO THE ORDINARY man-and-woman-in-the-street facing a blank Israel television screen, as they did for the third night in a row last night, the issue could not be starker in its simplicity. It was who is minding the store at Television House: the duly constituted Israel Broadcasting Authority, through its several executive bodies, or a small unruly band of technicians out to impose their will on the country's principal medium of communication by holding the public to ransom?

So indeed it seemed. The immediate cause of the stoppage of television broadcasts was a decision by the technicians' staff committee, protesting the suspension of their chairman, Hezi Koka, last Thursday, for ordering that the screen be blacked out for six minutes during the Mabat news broadcast the previous night. Mr. Koka's purpose was to prevent the showing of last Wednesday's Moslem riot on the Temple Mount during the visit by the Knesset Interior Committee, filmed not by a home team but by Visnews, a foreign company whose video material had been obtained through satellite.

It did not matter to Mr. Koka that Television House, having missed the event, had no other practical choice if it wished to let the public see what had occurred.

The technicians' staff committee action is most probably illegal, if only for having been taken without even a declaration of a labour dispute. Mr. Koka himself would doubtless be brought before a disciplinary tribunal. Yet it is only reasonable to ask: what could have induced the staff committee chairman, not a particularly wild man from all the evidence, to arbitrarily take the law into his own hands and deny the people's right to know and see?

The answer is not as simple as it might seem. It lies in a seven-year old conflict between the technicians' committee and the journalists' and producers' committee over control of the new—or once new and now obsolescing—video equipment that has been lying around idle all this time, costing the IBA an estimated quarter million dollars per month, because of the failure to resolve the conflict.

What the television technicians, who include film editors, fear is that the journalists and producers might, by sneaking video material into news programmes, establish the principle that the video equipment—commonly known as Electronic News Gathering—belongs to them, as it were. The result is that Television House still mainly relies on enormously expensive film material; but no-one seems to care.

The technicians recall that they allowed the use of foreign video a few months ago for the coverage of a visit by Premier Shimon Peres to Hebron, when local footage was unavailable. But they vowed never to let it happen again. Last week they kept their word.

Needless to say the situation is all too absurd. But while television employees may be faulted for the obstreperousness that is costing the country this much money, the burden of responsibility for failing to take corrective action must be placed chiefly on the very same IBA management that is supposed to be minding the store at Television House. Surely six years should have sufficed to resolve the conflict if the IBA's management committee, and its plenum, had put their minds to it.

During the past few days the suggestion has been aired that Television House be closed down, dismantled, and rebuilt from the foundations up.

This does not appear feasible: for one thing, the outcry by citizens insisting, however wrongly, on the return of their licence fees, will be deafening. But a reform of the country's only general television channel is overdue, and it could suitably start by tearing down the fortress inside which a group of political appointees posing as top-management have far too long been taking shelter from the mundane realities—and problems—of television.

Deadlock syndrome

ASHER MANIV

THE REJOICING, two months ago, over the on-again-near-resumption of the peace process was apparently premature. But the present atmosphere in large circles of the Israeli political leadership, a kind of quiet satisfaction with the impasse, is certainly much more dangerous.

As for the Likud and the whole of the right wing, this attitude is hardly surprising. After all, if you are against giving up any territory, you must necessarily be more than suspicious of what's going to happen at negotiations. You can't really expect your negotiating partner to come and sign on the dotted line. Why on earth should either Jordan or the Palestinians come to terms with Israel just in order to keep the present situation as it is, and on top of that, to give it the sanction of a peace treaty? But if you are not willing to change it, what is there to negotiate about? So, according to Likud logic, if there are no negotiations, so much the better. King Hussein's vacillations, Arafat's procrastinations and West Bank leaders' evident fear for their interests in the Palestinian camp are really playing into the hands of Israel's right wing.

The trouble is, however, that similar resignation to the deadlock can be felt among Labour leaders as well. Of course, officially, they are all stalwarts of negotiation and willingness for compromise. But they are also politicians, and they know that concessions, however necessary, are seldom popular. Having preached, for almost two decades, on the vital importance of "defensible" borders (which once upon a time included Sharm-el-Sheik), on the absolute inadmissibility of a separate Palestinian state and the unacceptability of Palestinian representatives recognized by a majority of Palestinians, they find themselves now caught in a web of their own making, with little room for manoeuvrability.

True, they do not go back on their commitment to negotiate, but if they

may be absolved from the unpleasant duty of making difficult decisions, they certainly won't go out of their way to find ways to break the deadlock or at least to try to influence decision making on the Arab side.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin is a case in point. At a recent meeting of the Labour party's political committee, he gave an admirable analysis of the present stalemate with Jordan. But statesmen cannot content themselves with analysis; they have to go forward towards the next step. Rabin's conclusion was reasonable—as far as it goes: first priority to strengthening the peace with Egypt. Fine, even if that means agreeing to arbitration on Tabat. But is Rabin not aware of what was made so abundantly clear by Egyptian statesmen in a recent *Moked* on TV, that the only real way to warm up the peace with Egypt is by progress on the Jordanian-Palestinian issue? That what is really bothering Egypt is that, contrary to the Camp David Accords, the peace with Egypt remains a separate peace.

IF LABOUR leaders were really concerned about the present deadlock, they would try to break it at the one point where it would make a difference: on the question of Palestinian representation. This would require a small procedural adjustment, but it's easier to continue the deadlock by simply doing nothing. Who is to blame you for what has not been done, and therefore cannot be seen by Mr. Everybody? But the statesman has to ask himself about the alternative, a courageous step to break the deadlock, a choice that does not really bother our ordinary citizen. What is so terribly wrong with maintaining the status quo?

A lot. But, anyway, in real life no

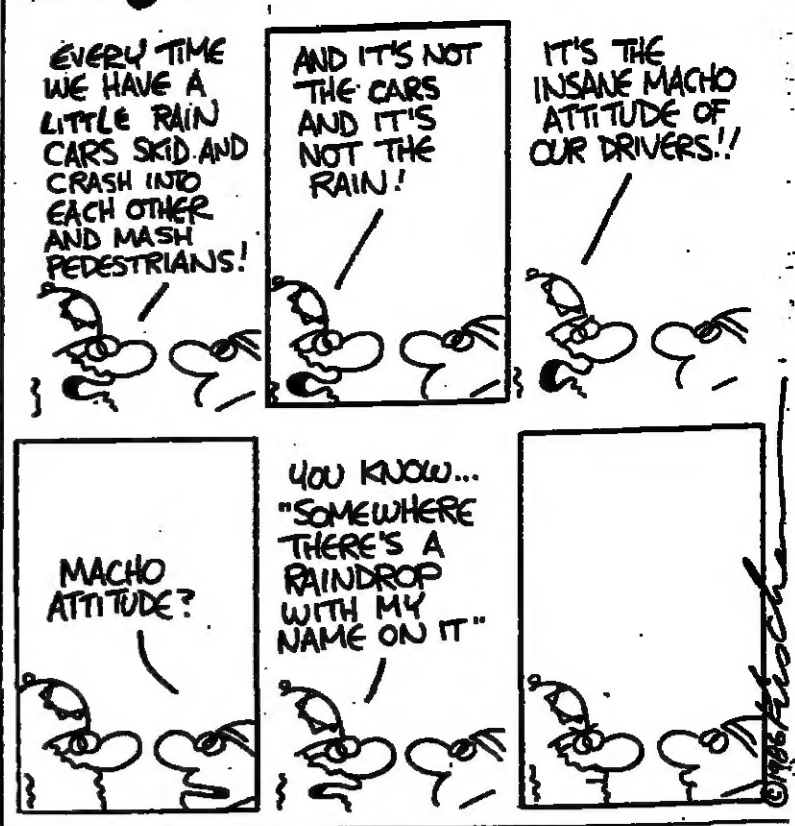
status quo can be maintained for ever. Nothing in life remains stagnant for long. Hoping that nothing will ever happen is hardly a sign of statesmanship although it is typical of some of our leading politicians. Perpetuation of the status-quo was the dominant ideology in Israel—across almost all parties—prior to 1973. The result was the Yom Kippur war, a rude awakening from the sweet dream of status quo ideology, but the lesson seems forgotten already.

Even if perpetuation of status quo were possible, few people bother to analyse the assumption that time is on our side; that one day the conflict will miraculously disappear, and the Arabs will resign themselves to our conquests; or, at least, that any settlement we can expect today will be worse than the one we may get tomorrow or the day after. Even if you want desperately to believe in time, it means playing with our fate, playing with the very survival of Israel. It is a grave responsibility for our leaders to take upon themselves.

Militarily, at the moment, we are still the most powerful nation in the Middle East. We may even be reasonably confident that this balance of power can be kept for some time yet. But one does not have to be a general to know that in the history of mankind, there has never been a nation that kept its superiority over its neighbours for ever. The nations that survived were the ones that either conquered all their enemies while they still had the upper hand or those that settled their disputes while they still could. Since no sane person could assume that we could ever conquer the whole of the Arab world, only the second alternative exists for us.

LET US not forget another fact: our military superiority has always been based on quality as against quantity: Morale, training, initiative, leadership, flexibility, technological advantages, consciousness of pur-

Dry Bones



pose and commitment etc., as against superiority in men, weapons, masses of land, natural resources, alliances, etc. While we have little or no hope of ever reaching Arab levels of quantity, it is quite possible that we might lose the advantage of quality—if not by our deteriorating, at least by their rising.

Time, therefore, can definitely not be assumed to be on our side. Deadlock and continuation of the status quo are not less, but more dangerous options than departure from time-honoured dogmas of party platforms.

Fortunately, neither can time be considered to be entirely on the Arab (or even less on the Palestinian) side. For even though the above equation is known to them as well as to any of us, many among them also know that the price they

will have to pay until they reach superiority will be so terrible that they will lose more than they can hope to gain. Indeed, that is the content of the present inter-Arab controversy between the "rejectionists" and the moderates. It should be in our interest to encourage the latter.

Contrary to the simple-minded belief that one side's gain must always be the other side's loss, the Arab-Israeli conflict is a perfect example where breaking the deadlock and changing the status quo is in the definite interests of both sides.

Let us at least see our own side clearly. Let us not play lightly and irresponsibly with the fateful factor of time.

The writer is a fellow of the Yad Tabenkin research institute of the United Kibbutz Movement.

Historical imperative

SHUBERT SPIRO

THE contemporary Israeli life-style. The answer to both is, of course, that "the entire congregation" is not yet holy and that Israel, wherever she is, has yet to become holy!

From a theoretical, religious, and theological point of view, the issue is a real stand-off and always has been. The tradition is ambiguous on this point, and Jews have always been divided on the issue. If this were the 1920s, this learned debate would go on interminably without coming to any decisive resolution.

But what has happened in regard to this crucial question is that history has stepped in and completely changed the frame of reference. The two overwhelming events of our time, the Holocaust and the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz Yisrael, have dealt a decisive blow to the Neusner thesis. If we accept the premise that God speaks to the Jewish people through history, then the message of the last century is clear: "Jews go Home! You have no future as a people in the *Galla*. Providence has made it possible for you to reestablish yourselves as a nation in your historic Eretz Yisrael—go up and take possession!"

While Fishman's theories lack the

ism has a societal quality, Neusner could counter with the claim that the social unit need not be the nation, but rather the Diaspora community, which can generate societal holiness as well. This position, or something very much like it, is apparently held by thousands of very religious and committed Jews and their leaders who identify with the Hassidic and yeshiva worlds and believe with perfect faith that, as individuals, their holiness and essential relationship to God is in no way diminished by their continuing to live in the Diaspora.

IN TERMS of Israel's second task to become a collective model for mankind, Neusner could adopt the classical Reform position that where else, but in holy communities all over the civilized world, are Jews in a better position to become known and to impress mankind? And while Fishman has legitimate doubts as to how spiritually impressive the American Jews' way of life can be, I am sure that Neusner could raise similar doubts about the holiness of

the contemporary Israeli life-style. The answer to both is, of course, that "the entire congregation" is not yet holy and that Israel, wherever she is, has yet to become holy!

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While Fishman's theories lack the

argumentative force to overcome counter-theories, they are quite adequate to explain and justify de facto: allya to an existing Jewish state. For even those living in the Diaspora who do not feel religiously deprived or subordinate would admit to greater opportunities for holiness in a sovereign Jewish state and to greater possibilities for the nation, as such, to become a "light" to the nations.

IN TRUTH, however, it is no longer a matter of theory but an existential response to an historical imperative. What we have all expected, despaired of, ever seeing, has actually happened! Our reasons for not responding to the "knock on the door by the Beloved" is akin to: "I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?" (Song of Songs 5:3).

Now that there exists, against all odds, a Jewish state in Eretz Yisrael with a population of over 3½ million Jewish souls, where Jews are free to apply all of the religious and literary achievements of two millennia, but where there is a desperate need for another million Jews to consolidate and secure what is already here, how can any Jew, certainly one with Neusner's sense of history and commitment, not join in?

The writer is Irving I. Stone Professor of Jewish Thought at Bar Ilan University.

POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. READERS of the *National Geographic* have long had problems with that magazine's oft-repeated map of the Holy Land. The National Geographic Society has always coloured the administered territories in the same colour used to define Jordan. Thus the Jordanian annexation of Judea and Samaria could be said to have been recognized by Britain, Pakistan, and the National Geographic Society.

But now the society's assistant director of cartography has got the message. In a letter recently received, he accepted our correspondent's suggestion that the map be re-coloured. We are promised that all future editions will delineate the territories in a neutral colour, rather than that used for Israel or Jordan.

W.Z.

P.S. SWISS chemist Albert Hofmann who discovered the hallucinatory drug LSD in the Forties, celebrated his 80th birthday in Bern recently.

The chemist was working on the physical qualities of certain plant fungi, such as ergot on rye which is at the base of LSD, for treating poor blood circulation.

He sampled some in his laboratory and then he bicycled home for lunch started to hallucinate.

Hofmann worked with the giant pharmaceutical firm Sandoz from 1929-1971, when he retired. The discovery of LSD made him world famous.

LSD was put on commercial sale under the name Delysid by Sandoz until 1966.

P.S. HARDLY a month goes by when someone doesn't send us yet another example of unintended comedy in the English used on local restaurant menus. Repeats and variations on familiar errors are common, but the one that a correspondent recently spotted in a Tiberias restaurant really caught our attention. Instead of listing "desserts," the menu referred to "final rations."

Can this be, asks our friend, a sign of the new austerity? J.O.

READERS' LETTERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — In a simplistic attempt to rationalize a "portable" Israel, located even in Providence, Rhode Island, Professor Neusner (December 29) has overlooked the central event of contemporary Jewish history—the establishment of the State of Israel for the purpose of reconstituting the Jewish people in its ancient land and providing a home for victims of anti-Semitism.

Could Providence, R.I., provide immediate rescue facilities for the emigration of Russian or Ethiopian Jews, to cite only the most recent examples of victims of anti-Semitism? Did Providence, R.I., or any other place in America, open its heart and doors to rescue the 6 million doomed Jews in Europe prior to or during World War II? David Wyman's excellent volume on the abandonment of the Jews by the U.S. during World War II and Martin Gilbert's work on the same subject in Britain show that Israel's salvation does not, in fact, lie in the Diaspora.

ISRAEL IN THE DIASPORA

A word about Neusner's emphasis on the holiness of Jews living in America. I submit that it is difficult if not impossible to define holiness in abstract terms. But if the American Jewish community is blessed with holiness, what explanation can be offered for the galloping intermarriage rate, assimilation and espousal of cults which characterize all levels of American Jewry? Surely, Professor Neusner knows that only a minuscule fraction of American Jews are Sabbath observers, regular synagogue worshippers or Torah students. Are these the characteristics

of the "distinctive way of life" of the American Jewish community lauded by Professor Neusner?

Neusner's claim that his "Israel" is as holy in Providence as it is in the State of Israel is reminiscent of the now-discarded theology of a certain rabbinic anti-Zionist movement which held that America was its Jerusalem. Will the law come forth from Providence or will it come forth from Jerusalem? That American Jews are comfortable in America is manifestly self-evident. Professor Neusner need not, however, turn this state of affairs into theology.

HAROLD W. GRUBART
Ra'anana (New York).

HUNTER ALUMNI

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — A group of Israeli women and men are attempting to organize the only overseas chapter of the Hunter College Alumni Association.

We know that there are well over 100 Hunter graduates living in

OUTRAGEOUS ACTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — I write in response to your article of January 3 about the plight of a convert who is being denied recognition as a Jew by the Ministry of the Interior. It is outrageous that the ministry has anticipated the proposed change in the current Law of Return, notwithstanding their claim to be acting within the current law.

I beg those who have the power to do so to uphold the law which allows converts from the Reform and Con-

servative movements to be recognized. These people try very hard to create a Jewish home for themselves and their children, sometimes after being rejected by their own families. I find it painful that these people are being spurned by the religion they chose to embrace.

Moreover, such action can cause widening rifts between the different movements at a time when Jews need to look to each other for support.

Let Aviv. KIM STRAUSSER

CIVIL GUARD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — You erred when you spoke about the Civil Defence as being involved in the prevention of road accidents ("Reducing carnage on the roads," December 30). You should have mentioned the Civil Guard instead.

While not a single Hagan soldier is engaged in road safety activities, hundreds of Civil Guard volunteers

in specially trained "Yatam" units (Yehidat Tnu'a Meyuhedet) patrol Israel's roads day and night. In cases of serious violations and acting as fully authorized policemen, they also hand out tickets.

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